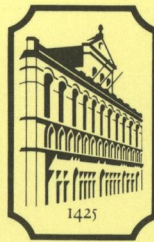


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XLVIII - 1999



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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IN GRATAM MEMORIAM ET INCLUTISSIMAM  
JOSEPHI IJSEWIJN (1932-1998)

Prof. em. dr. Iosephus IJsewijn aetatis anno sexto et sexagesimo nondum completo circa horam nonam vespertinam Veneris diei, qui dies erat vigesimus septimus mensis Novembris anni MCMLXXXVIII, nobis ereptus est. Cuius corpus die quinto mensis Decembris post missam in ecclesia abbatae Parcensis sollemniter celebratam, vale dicentibus familiaribus amicis collegis multis e nationibus congregatis, in coemeterio compositum est, ubi nunc requiescit non procul a decessore Henrico de Vocht, qui anno 1928 librorum seriem c. t. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* condiderat.

Quanta diligentia et alacritate, quo studio et ardore professoris munus septem per lustra in Athenaeo Catholico Lovaniensi obierit, quot acroases in aliis studiorum universitatibus conventibusque doctis fecerit, quibus Academiae Societatibusque socius consultor praeses interfuerit, qui denique honores, quae praemia ipsi sint collata, ab aliis alio loco enarretur.<sup>1</sup> Heic proferre pauca tantum nobis in animo est.

Magister ille noster, tamquam Petrarca redivivus fervido correptus Latinae linguae amore, quam mira coluit peritia, ad totius Latinitatis studia latius propaganda anno 1966 adiutorem unum nactus Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae constituit. Quo fundamento firmiter iacto, anno 1971 primum gentium omnium nationumque conventum literis Neolatinis fovendis in urbem Lovanium convocavit. Participes huius conventus, docti viri et mulieres plus ducenti, cum felix inceptum perire nollent, duobus post annis alterum conventum Amstelodami convocari cupierunt. Societatis igitur Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis, quae tunc est creata, Iosephus IJsewijn primus electus est praeses et anno 1991 Hafniae socius honorarius ob eximia merita est renuntiatus.

<sup>1</sup> Vitam eius, imaginem et opera vide quaeso in libro, quem eius in honorem edendum curaverunt D. Sacré et G. Tournoy (Lovanii, 1999). Videsis etiam quae in commentariis q. t. *Campuskrant* mensis Decembris anni 1998 scripsit G. Tournoy, quae C. Kallendorf et G. Tournoy publici iuris fecerunt in commentariis q. t. *Neo-Latin News*, 47 (1999), 144-145, quae denique auctore Theodorico Sacré in *Commentariis Academiae Latinitati Fovendae* necnon in *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* mox prodibunt.

Idem primum enchiridion studiorum Neolatinorum omnibus studiosis perutile composuit, quod anno 1977 publici iuris fecit. Secundae editionis funditus retractatae partem alteram anno 1990, alteram adiuvante Theodorico Sacré anno 1998 in lucem emisit.

Postremo non licet heic praetereamus *Humanistica* quae dicuntur *Lovaniensia*. Quam bibliothecam ab H. de Vocht olim conditam esse diximus, eam ille semisopitam iam ac paene extinctam excitavit, refocillavit in commentariosque annuos feliciter mutatam inde ab anno 1968 per tria decennia qua erat auctoritate perspicuitate liberalitate rexit, veste lautiore sensim adornavit instrumentoque bibliographico ditavit.

Lugent itaque litterae Latinae ob Josephum IJsewijn, virum singulari ingenio, scientia et humanitate praeditum, qui omnibus solebat praesto esse. Lugemus editores et coeditores iidemque studiorum illi Neolatinorum antistiti, cuius memoria mentibus nostris semper erit infixata, grates habemus. Utinam nobis, tanti viri ope destitutis, imago eius atque exemplum ante oculos semper obversetur, ut ea, quam ille monstravit, pergamus via.

Lovanii, Kalendis Maiis MCMLXXXIX

Rainer JAKOBI

## BRUNIS VERSINVEKTIVE GEGEN NICCOLI

Die Frage, ob Leonardo Brunis köstliche Versinvektive gegen seinen ehemaligen Freund Niccolò Niccoli als gebündelte, paraphrastische Bearbeitung seiner 1424 entstandenen und unvollständig gebliebenen Prosa-Rede *In nebulonem maledicum* interpretiert werden kann oder ob letztere nach den Versen entstanden ist, wurde bisher nicht verbindlich entschieden: G. Zippel hatte die Priorität des *carmen* postuliert<sup>1</sup>, während S. Prete aus dem Anfang der Rede, in dem Bruni ankündigt, sein bisheriges Schweigen brechen zu wollen, auf eine spätere Entstehungszeit oder zumindest Publikation des *carmen* glaubt schließen zu können.<sup>2</sup> Martin C. Davies schließlich verfährt in seiner detailreichen Studie über den Streit vorsichtig die Priorität der Versinvektive, mit deren inoffizieller Publikation er rechnet.<sup>3</sup> Die Priorität gebührt indes gewiß der Prosa-Rede. Denn daß es sich bei der Versfassung um eine Epitomierung der Rede handelt und nicht eine umgekehrte Genese vorliegt, erweist ein Vergleich der Perikopen, die der Abstammung Niccolis gelten.

In der Versinvektive, die zuletzt von J. Hankins kritisch ediert wurde<sup>4</sup>, heißt es in den Versen 28-31:

<sup>1</sup> Giuseppe Zippel, *Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429-1434)* (Roma, 1899), nachgedruckt in: *Storia e cultura del rinascimento italiano*, a cura di Gianni Zippel (Padova, 1979), dort S. 220 Anm. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sesto Prete, 'Leonardi Bruni Aretini carmen', *Classical World*, 56 (1963), 280-283, dort 282. Eine verbesserte Edition hat der Ersteditor in *Two Humanistic Anthologies*, Studi e Testi, 230 (Città del Vaticano, 1964), Ss. 82-87 vorgelegt.

<sup>3</sup> 'An Emperor Without Clothes? Niccolò Niccoli Under Attack', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 30 (1987), 95-148, dort 119-20.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Latin Poetry of Leonardo Bruni', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 1-39 (Ss. 31-32). Neben den bereits von S. Prete benutzten Handschriften Vat. Barb. lat. 42 ff. 311<sup>v</sup>-312<sup>r</sup> (= B) und Toledo, Cathedr. 100.42 f. 94<sup>r-v</sup> (= T) hat Hankins einen von Paul O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 6 vols. (London-Leiden, 1963-1995), II, 345 bekannt gemachten dritten Textzeugen, Vat. lat. 8914 f.128<sup>v</sup> (= V) erstmals herangezogen. Eine Nachkollationierung dieser Hs. offenbart eine hohe Zahl falscher Angaben bei Hankins: Die Handschrift bietet nicht nur Zeile 1-12, sondern zusätzlich 14 *iura pudicitiae quod n[on]ullo etc.* (Vers 13 ist durch Augensprung ausgefallen); in der inscriptio ist nicht

An genus attulis? tecum chirographa legi  
 quod tibi avus caupo Pistoriensis erat;  
 vina ministrabat mediis lasciva tabernis,  
 ad te pampinea fronde 'Liee' vocans.

Die Verse 29-30 wird in der dargebotenen Form niemand richtig verstehen können, was aber zum wenigsten dem Dichter selbst anzulasten ist. Was dieser aussagen wollte, wird erst klärlich durch den Vergleich mit der Prosainvektive. Dort heißt es:

an enim tu usque adeo impudens et insensatus es,... ut vel *avi tui pistoriensem cauponam* aut patris sordidam unctionem mihi et meis anteponas?... *avi autem tui caupona Pistorii primum floruit non dignitate aliqua, sed fronde illa festiva, qua ad vinum et popinas meretrices et ganeos invitabat.*<sup>5</sup>

Das pointierte *vina lasciva* der Verse wird verständlich als gedrängte Paraphrase von *ad vinum... meretrices... invitabat*; *Liee* ist als *exclamatio ex persona poetae*, nicht als Ausruf des Wirtes selbst zu fassen und ersetzt die Wendung *ad vinum invitabat* der Prosaversion.

Das gleiche Verhältnis von klar formulierter Sachaussage in der Prosa und sekundärer, allein aus der Prosa ableitbarer Versverdichtung bieten die Verse 18-20:

Ex oriente venis demersus ab aequore Rubro  
 qui modo rubricas dicere stulte<sup>6</sup> queas.  
 Cetera <nam> nescis etc.

Der in unseren Ohren recht lahme Witz in den Vv. 18-19 geht, was zumindest V. 19 anbetrifft, auf die klarer konturierte Formulierung der

*Nicolaum*, sondern *Nicholam* überliefert, 2 nicht *mea ore*, sondern *mea ora*. In 3 wird nicht Clausens (sichere) Emendation *mala* bestätigt: V bietet vielmehr wie BT *male*; 10 *reddens* statt *frendens*. In 12 kann ich auf einer vorzüglichen Photographie keinerlei Bestätigung für Clausens *latrantia* durch eine zweite Hand in V erkennen; allein *latramentum* ist überliefert. Aber auch für T-Lesarten finden sich ungenaue Angaben bei Hankins: 11 *tumido* T<sup>1</sup> mit V; zu 22 vgl. Anm. 14; 27 nicht *virtus*, sondern *nullus* (*vel virtus* in marg.). Es verdient auch einen Hinweis, daß in 27 nicht *forsan*, sondern *for-sam* einhellig überliefert ist, eine orthographische Variante, die nicht ohne guten Grund mißachtet werden sollte.

<sup>5</sup> Die ältere Ausgabe von G. Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli. Contributo alla storia dell'umanesimo* (Firenze, 1890), Ss. 75-91, liegt jetzt in einer deutlich verbesserten Edition im Nachdruck in *Storia e cultura* (s. Anm. 1) vor (dort S. 133).

<sup>6</sup> *Stulte* muß gegen Hankins, 'Latin Poetry', 32-33 als Vokativ verstanden werden.



Antithese von *rubricae* und *studia* in der Prosa-Fassung zurück, in der es heißt:

“prome queso qui sit fructus studiorum tuorum, nisi librorum nundine atque venditio. huius tu mercature gratia *rubricas modo* legere didicisti, nec studii sed mercimonii causa libros habes”.<sup>7</sup>

Dank der Prosainvektive läßt sich der Text der Verse nicht nur besser verstehen. Ihre Hinzuziehung ermöglicht auch die Behebung einer notorischen Korruptel:

Iura pudicitiae quod nullo fine tueris  
quodque tibi ingenium nullum †et sensus habes†.  
Est asini species; (14 ff.)

Für den von den bisherigen Editoren in cruces gesetzten Text gibt es nur den inhaltlich, paläographisch und metrisch<sup>8</sup> recht kühnen Verbesserungsvorschlag *nullum et adest senium* von E. Robins.<sup>9</sup> Dabei ist die Korruptel ganz einfach zu heilen: “...et sensus *hebes*<sup>10</sup>,/ est asini species”. Denn daß *hebes* zu konjizieren ist, legt die entsprechende Aussage in der oratio zwingend nahe:

“ignavissimum hominem nulla protinus disciplina nullaue scientia preditum, *hebetissimo* insuper *ingenio* et amentia singulari hec ostentare et fingere”.<sup>11</sup>

Mit eben diesem Wort hatte bereits 1420 auch Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti in seiner Invektive die Torheit Niccolis gebrandmarkt:

“nam et doctissimi plures ex discipulis in grecis litteris evasere, nullusque preterea fuit qui non aliqua ex parte peritus abiret preter te unum *hebetissimum* omnium ac veluti ex prima materia compactam belluam”.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nach Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli*, S. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Bruni benutzt als Kenner antiker Metrik nur den — seit Ovid üblichen — zweisilbigen Pentameterschluß. Einer solcher Kenner wird andererseits natürlich niemals die Ultima des Akkusativ *sensus* kurz messen.

<sup>9</sup> In der zweiten Edition von S. Prete, *Two Humanistic Anthologies*, Ss. 86-87.

<sup>10</sup> Die Verbesserung ist umso einfacher, als beide Textzeugen (BT) nicht *habes*, sondern die Abbreviatur *h̄s* bieten. Um den bei Bruni nur hier begegnenden Spondeus in der zweiten Pentameterhälfte zu vermeiden, erwägt Prof. Dirk Sacré, dem ich für kritische Anmerkungen danke, mit guten Recht “... nullum, *ita* sensus *hebes* (oder *hebet*)”. Zur Versklausel *sensus hebes/hebet*, vgl. Paulin. Nol., *carm.*, 31, 206: “et piger obtunso corpore sensus hebet”.

<sup>11</sup> Bei Zippel, *Storia e cultura*, S. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Zitiert nach der Ausgabe von G. Zippel, ‘L’invettiva di Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti contro Niccolò Niccoli’, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 24 (1894),

Als dummen Esel aber hatte schon Cicero in seiner gerade erst 1417 von Poggio wiederentdeckten Scheltrede den Calpurnius Piso dafür tituliert, daß er den auch heute noch hinlänglich bekannten Vers *cedant arma togae* aus dem Konsulatsgedicht mißverstanden habe: *quid nunc te, asine, litteras doceam? non opus est verbis sed fustibus* (73). Cicero spielt, wie die Kommentatoren z. St. nicht unterlassen hinzuweisen, auf das bekannte Paroemium ὄνος λύρας an, welches Sprichwort bereits Guarino in einer 1413 verfaßten Briefinvektive gegen Niccoli gewendet hat:

nec illum a me codices idcirco repetisse credas, quod eos ulli sibi futuros usui aut adiumento speraverit, cum ad illos velut 'asinus ad lyram' existat futurusve sit et sicut in proverbio est 'oleum perdat et impensas'...<sup>13</sup>

Eben dieses Sprichwort liegt auch Brunis Versen 21-22 zugrunde, allerdings nur im Wortlaut der Hss., nicht in der vom jüngsten Editor gebotenen Fassung:

Cetera <nam> nescis, nec si iam scire labores  
plus, tibi sic asino, cum lyra dulce sonat.  
sic Hankins: *sit quam* B T<sup>14</sup>

Die Übersetzung des von ihm in dieser Form hergestellten Textes ("you know nothing else, and if you tried to learn more now, you'd be like the ass playing sweetly on the lyre" ['Latin Poetry', 32-33]) berücksichtigt freilich nicht einmal die Verneinung *nec*.

Die ausführliche lateinische Fassung des griechischen Sprichwortes lautet, wie bereits Erasmus in seinen *Adagia* (Chil. I, Cent. I, Prov. 35) erläutert hat, *asino quippe lyra superflue canit* (Hier., *epist.*, 27,1), woraus leicht ersichtlich allein mit einer Änderung der Interpunktion den Versen Brunis ihr Sinn wiedergeschenkt werden kann:

cetera <nam> nescis, nec si iam scire labores,  
plus tibi sit, quam asino cum lyra dulce sonat.

166-186, dort S. 175 (= *Storia e cultura* [vgl. Anm. 1], S. 167). — In den Juvenalscholien wird zu 7,160 *Arcadio iuveni*, d. h. einem Schüler von bäurischer Torheit, erklärt: "ARC(ADIO IVVENI) *asino* ac per hoc stulto, *hebeti*".

<sup>13</sup> Zitiert nach Remigio Sabbadini (Ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, 3 Bdd. (Venezia, 1915), I, 43. Eine Analyse der Invektive hat Sabbadini seiner Erstausgabe in *Nozze Curcio-Marcellino* (Lonigo, 1901) beigegeben.

<sup>14</sup> Auf Prete geht die Fehlangebe zurück, daß T nicht wie B *sit quam*, sondern nur *sit* überliefere.

“...aber wenn du dich darum bemühst, dann gilt es dir gewiß nicht mehr, als wenn einem Esel die Leier süß ertönt”.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ich nutze die Gelegenheit, eine Partie aus Brunis Jugendwerk *Carmen de adventu imperatoris* in aller Kürze zu besprechen (das Gedicht ist allein in einer von Fehlern übersäten Handschrift der Badischen Landesbibl. Karlsruhe erhalten (cod. Reichenau CXXXI ff. 93v-94r) und wurde zuerst von Hankins, ‘Latin Poetry’, 5-6 vollständig gedruckt):

turribus excelsis magnos aptate molares  
 semicremasque sudes ferratta[que] cuspidē *cun<c>tas* (17f.)

Die auf der Basis dieser, einer Fehlesung geschuldeten Textfassung (überliefert ist vielmehr *cuntos*) vorgenommene militärgeschichtliche Bewertung bei Hankins (‘Latin Poetry’, 4) ist gegenstandslos bei einer auch sprachlich doch wohl eleganteren Fassung ‘ferratta[que] cuspidē *contos*’, für die ich Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 208 ‘*ferratasque sudes* (so M) et acuta *cuspidē contos*’ ins Feld führen möchte (vgl. auch Lucan., 6, 174 f. ‘nunc *sude* nunc duro contraria pectora *conto* / detrudit muris’).

Abschließend gilt es noch folgende Lesungen bei Hankins zu bessern: 11 *nullus* cor-rexi: *nullos* MS] die adnotatio gilt einem anderen *nullus* in 12. Im explicit ist *Leonardus*, nicht *Leonardi* tradiert. — Allen genannten Bibliotheken danke ich für die prompte Übersendung von Photographien der Handschriften.

Harry VREDEVELD

TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION OF ERASMUS'S  
*DE CONSCRIBENDIS EPISTOLIS*

Erasmus's treatise on letter-writing is one of those early books of his whose publication was forced by a pirated print.<sup>1</sup> Though written in the late 1490s and fitfully revised for well over a decade thereafter, the text remained hidden from public view until October 1521, when the Cambridge printer John Siberch brought out an old version under the apologetic title: *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis, autore D. Erasmo, opus olim ab eodem coeptum, sed prima manu, mox expoliri coeptum, sed intermissum*. Nettled, Erasmus quickly countered with a new, much expanded edition, the title of which takes dead aim at the illegitimate sibling: *D. Erasmi Roterodami opus de conscribendis epistolis, quod quidam et mendosum et mutilum aediderant, recognitum ab autore et locupletatum* (Basel, August 1522).

If it was Erasmus's intent to squelch the rival publication, the plan was by all accounts a brilliant success. The authorized edition went on to become a steady bestseller all over Europe, while Siberch's fell into utter oblivion. Just a few copies of the pirated book are still extant. Its text has never been reprinted or edited. Even the critical edition of *Opus de conscribendis epistolis* in ASD I.2 (1971) pays only scant attention to it. The editor — the distinguished Erasmianist Jean-Claude Margolin — discusses Siberch's redaction on pp. 166-72 of his introduction, but dismisses

<sup>1</sup> For his many excellent suggestions and cheerful support I am much indebted to Terence O. Tunberg (Lexington, Kentucky). I should also like to thank Johanna van de Roer-Meyers (Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam) for her kind help in obtaining photocopies of various source materials. The following abbreviations are used in this study: BAS = *Omnia opera Desiderii Erasmi*, 9 vols (Basel, 1538-42); LB = *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, 10 vols (Leiden, 1703-06, repr. Hildesheim, 1961-62); ASD = *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969 -); CWE = *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974 -); BB = *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, ed. Ferdinand van der Haeghen (Gand, 1898-1923); HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Abbreviations for ancient authors and Erasmus's works are the ones used in ASD.

it on p. 198 as “ce texte incomplet et douteux dont l’humaniste hollandais, homme de grand renom, refuse la disgracieuse paternité”.

We may certainly join the editor in accepting Erasmus’s complaint that the clandestine print offers a “truncated and mutilated draft” of his treatise (“operis rudimentum... truncum ac mutilum”, p. 206, lines 6-7). But is it accurate to say that Erasmus refused to acknowledge paternity of Siberch’s text? The editor points to the words “opus... mendosum” in the title of the 1522 edition, a phrase he understands as “l’œuvre... fallacieuse” (p. 198). The epithet “mendosum”, however, means “riddled with error”, not “fallacious” or “counterfeit”. And even supposing that Erasmus publicly denied authorship, would we really want to take him at his word? Professor Margolin, for one, does not. After allowing that Siberch printed “le manuscrit d’Erasme” (p. 167), he asserts that “l’édition prématurée de 1521” is “selon toute vraisemblance” the work of Erasmus (p. 171) and then proceeds to outline how the two redactions are related (p. 198).

Now if the pirated version in fact represents an authentic, if early draft of the treatise, as the editor concedes, should that not have compelled him to study its readings and incorporate them into the critical apparatus? His explanation that “les principes de notre édition ne permettent pas une confrontation détaillée des deux textes” (p. 198) is unconvincing. True, the principles of the ASD edition specify that only variants from “authoritative editions” be included in the apparatus (ASD I.1 [1969], p. XVIII). This rule, however, did not stop the editor from including the readings of five unauthorized reprints of the work. Why then did he exclude Siberch’s far more interesting redaction?

I suspect he never gave the book a fair chance. Taking Erasmus’s disparaging comments at face value, he rejected the surreptitious print out of hand and never investigated it closely. This suspicion is borne out when we hear him claim on p. 170 that Erasmus first inserted the “Encomium matrimonii” into his treatise in 1522. As a matter of fact, the encomium is already embedded in Siberch’s edition, where it occupies sigs. I 2<sup>v</sup>-M 3<sup>r</sup>. The editor’s remoteness from the clandestine version is no less manifest in the commentary, as one can see, for example, in the notes at p. 469, lines 3-19; p. 521, line 5; and p. 562, line 13 — p. 563, line 5. Be that as it may, we have reason to take a closer look at the Cambridge print and reexamine its importance in establishing a text of *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*.



There can be no question, I think, that the celebrated, but increasingly embattled humanist felt a strong urge both to distance himself from Siberch's version and force it off the market. The Cambridge redaction was, after all, a truncated, relatively unpolished, error-filled draft, published without Erasmus's prior knowledge or consent. Worse, the book contained numerous unguarded comments that were bound to raise eyebrows and bring him trouble down the road. Distancing oneself from an illegitimate publication, however, is not the same as declaring it a counterfeit. The subtitle of the 1522 edition makes that as plain as day. "Siberch", Erasmus tells us, "has played a dirty trick on me by publishing my work in the way that he did. But I am herewith taking back control of my text with a revised and enlarged edition." This message is amplified in the dedicatory letter. Again Erasmus grumbles about the printer's impudence, even as he admits that the pirated book was the very one he started writing some three decades before: "librum De componendis epistolis excudit, quem annis abhinc ferme triginta Luteitiae scribere coeperam" (p. 205, lines 6-7). A little later he confirms that the material was drawn from his own manuscript notes: "me viuo et reclamante schedas meas euulgaret" (p. 206, line 9). In the face of such effrontery, he laments, he has had to lay aside projects of a rather more sacred nature in order to spend several days revising what had already appeared in print — "dies aliquot in recognoscendis quae iam exierant perdidimus" (p. 206, line 16).

The words just quoted contain a quite startling admission. Beyond implying once again that Siberch's print represents Erasmus's own work, they reveal that the pirated book served as a base text for the authorized edition. How else are we to take the phrase? He had spent several days revising *what had already been published*.

To draw so large a conclusion from such slender evidence, I recognize, is to invite immediate protest: "Did Erasmus then not have a manuscript of his own to work from, complete with revisions spanning well over a decade?" Why, yes. In the main body of the authorized edition he mentions consulting his manuscript: "exemplari, quod apud me fuit manu descriptum" (p. 370, line 8). And yet, in the same paragraph where he speaks of going back to his own handwritten version he also explains that he checked it only to determine whether a lengthy passage in his copy text was really part of the original concept. Even though he was unable to find it in the manuscript, he continues, he nonetheless permitted the interpolated passage to stand: "... hanc partem non repperi in

exemplari quod apud me fuit manu descriptum. Atque inter recognoscendum plane comperi hoc ab alio quopiam assutum fuisse, qui nactus sit haec in schedis meis, ex rhetorum praeceptionibus in alium quempiam vsum decerpta. Non reseuimus tamen..." (p. 370, lines 7-11).

Now then, who was that mysterious somebody who "patched on" the section that Erasmus thereupon allowed to remain in the text? Or, as Professor Margolin wonders in an annotation to these lines: "Erasme connaît-il avec précision le nom de ce 'ravaudeur' peu délicat?" I imagine he knew him quite well. After all, the passage that was not part of Erasmus's own manuscript does occur in Siberch's edition.

We conclude, therefore, that Erasmus, while publicly disparaging Siberch's book, nevertheless preferred it to his own jumbled notes and quietly made it the core of his revision. Our hypothesis is corroborated by philological evidence. For when we compare Siberch's redaction [S] with the authorized edition of 1522 [A] and the Basel edition "ex postrema autoris recognitione" of 1534 [F], we notice at once that they have a sizable body of text in common, particularly at pp. 349-566 of the ASD edition, albeit with numerous changes, deletions, and insertions. The shared sections are arranged in virtually the same order and, significantly, offer many of the same marginal notes. Even more tellingly, all three versions (but especially S and A) share a series of typographical errors that can only be explained by positing that S was the copy text for the corresponding passages in A. A few examples will suffice to make the point. A sidenote at p. 378, line 2 in S reads "Expositio." The same word appears in A F, even though the context clearly demands "Expolitio." At p. 398, line 3 the erroneous form "appellam" is printed in S as well as A; the proper reading "appellem" first occurs in F. At p. 399, line 16, both S and A read "ratione" instead of the correct "narratione" (F). And at p. 440, lines 21-22, S confronts us with the puzzling phrase "iis [ventis] qui contigerunt aequo animo viuendum erit". Had Erasmus paid closer attention to his copy text, he would undoubtedly have changed "viuendum" to "vtendum" — a correction made in Siberch's errata list and later adopted in F. Similarly at p. 367, lines 3-4, A and F follow S in reading: "Natura [diuiditur] in religionem,... veritatem, pactum, par, iudicatum." As confirmed both by Erasmus's model (Cic., *Inv.*, 2, 53, 161; 2, 54, 162) and by the parallel passage at p. 368, line 13 — p. 369, line 4, the correct text is the one provided in the errata list of S but apparently ignored by Erasmus in his haste: "Natura [diuiditur] in religionem,... veritatem; consuetudo in pactum, par, iudicatum."

Now that we know for sure that Erasmus co-opted Siberch by using S as the basis for a large part of A, we can also understand how he could carry out the revision “in just a few days”. Passages in S that required only light improvement must have been handled by ad-hoc corrections written in the margin. Long additions and revisions were inserted at the appropriate location in S on separate sheets of paper. Some of these supplementary sections, comprising pp. 209-300 and 354-65 of the ASD text, have in fact come down to us. Contained in the autograph manuscript now at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Thott 73 fol., f<sup>o</sup> 320<sup>r</sup>-357<sup>r</sup>), these fragments contain precisely those sections that are either not in S at all or were drastically rewritten.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery that S was fundamental to the production of A is obviously of consequence for a critical edition of *De conscribendis epistolis*. For if S forms the core of A, it follows that the clandestine version can no longer be relegated to obscurity, but must be accorded the status of a legitimate edition *ex post facto*. Errors and oddities in A and F, for example, will have to be re-evaluated if they happen to derive from S. Readings in the main body of S that were emended in the “Index errorum” but left unchanged in A F should be examined case by case to see whether they represent corrections missed by Erasmus as he hurried along or are only stylistic variants consciously rejected in the authorized version.

In retrospect, then, it is most regrettable that Professor Margolin’s edition fails to incorporate any of the readings of S. Equally unfortunate is his decision to ignore several other key texts — notably *Encomium matrimonii* and *Declamatio de morte* — which have a textual tradition apart from *De conscribendis epistolis*. And while culling orthographic variants from a motley assortment of early prints and reprints, his apparatus criticus regularly omits or misrepresents substantive readings from the two authorized editions and, moreover, leaves out all the marginalia. The edited text, I am sorry to add, labors under its own weight of problems. Not a few of these have been pointed out in Jozef IJsewijn, ‘Castigationes Erasmiannae, II’, *HL* 27 (1978), 297-301, and Terence O. Tunberg, ‘Notes on Seven Declamations by Erasmus’, *HL* 45 (1996), 218-24. As these corrections are readily accessible, I do not repeat them in the following notes.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has been described by C. Reedijk, ‘Three Erasmus Autographs in the Royal Library at Copenhagen’, in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam, 1968), pp. 339-44. See also the introduction to *De conscribendis epistolis* in ASD I.2 (1971), pp. 198-200.

A new critical edition of *De conscribendis epistolis*, ideally based on the last (and fullest) authorized version (F), is now an urgent desideratum. But as readers of the treatise can hardly afford to wait for such work to be undertaken, I shall first propose a list of additional emendations needed to restore some usefulness to the ASD text and then offer the much-needed supplement to the critical apparatus. In preparing this study I have collated the following texts:

**S:** *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis, autore D. Erasmo, opus olim ab eodem coeptum, sed prima manu, mox expoliri coeptum, sed intermissum, nunc primum prodit in lucem* (Cambridge: Siberch, 1521). A bibliographical description of the work can be found in Otto Treptow, *John Siberch: Johann Lair von Siegburg*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 6 (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 54-55. I have consulted the following two copies, each of which represents a different state of the same edition: **S**<sup>1</sup>: London, British Library (shelf number C.27.h.14); and **S**<sup>2</sup>: Oxford, Bodleian Library.

**A:** *Opus de conscribendis epistolis, quod quidam et mendosum et mutilum aediderant, recognitum ab autore et locupletatum* (Basel: Froben, 1522); copy in the Beinecke Library, Yale University.

**F:** *Opus de conscribendis epistolis ex postrema autoris recognitione* (Basel: Froben and Episcopius, 1534); copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago; also the one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

**α:** *In genere consolatorio, de morte declamatio. In: Querela pacis vndique gentium eiectae profligataeque. Cum quibusdam aliis* (Basel: Froben, December 1517), pp. 53-70; copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. For a bibliographical description see BB, no. E 1290. For a text of this declamation see ASD I.2, p. 441, line 12 — p. 455, line 27.

**β:** *Declamationes aliquot. Querimonia pacis vndique profligatae. Consolatoria de morte filii. Exhortatoria ad matrimonium. Encomium artis medicae cum caeteris adiectis* (Louvain: Martens, 1518); copy in the Royal Library, The Hague. For a bibliographical description see BB, no. E 1224; Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague, 1923-71), no. 811. The book

contains *Consolatoria de morte filii*, edited in ASD I.2, p. 441, line 12 — p. 455, line 27; and *Exhortatoria ad matrimonium*, edited in ASD I.2, p. 400, line 14 — p. 428, line 24 and ASD I.5 (1975), pp. 385-416.

$\gamma$ : *Encomium matrimonii. Encomium artis medicae* (Basel: Froben, [September?] 1518); copy in the Army Medical Library, Washington, D.C. For a bibliographical description see BB, no. E 1226. Contains a version of the text edited in ASD I.2, p. 400, line 14 — p. 428, line 24 and ASD I.5, pp. 385-416.

$\delta$ : *Libellus nouus et elegans, De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis, cum aliis compluribus* (Basel: Froben, Herwagen, and Episcopus, September 1529); copy in Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam. The book contains a revised version of *Matrimonii encomium* on pp. 143-71 (edited in ASD I.2, p. 400, line 14 — p. 428, line 24 and ASD I.5, pp. 385-416). Nearly all the revisions in  $\delta$ , some quite extensive, were later reprinted in F. Immediately following the encomium on pp. 171-72 are the expository comments edited in ASD I.2, p. 428, line 24 — p. 429, line 3. The volume also offers a version of *Declamatio de morte* on pp. 197-213 (edited in ASD I.2, p. 441, line 12 — p. 455, line 27).

For the reader's convenience I have included some scattered corrections by the following three critics, each of whom is identified with a siglum:

**Fa**: Charles Fantazzi, trans. and annotator, *On the Writing of Letters / De conscribendis epistolis*, CWE 25-26 (1985).

**Ma**: Jean-Pierre Massaut, 'La nouvelle édition des *Opera omnia* d'Erasmus', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 69 (1978), 301-04.

**Sm**: Kurt Smolak, trans. and annotator, *Erasmus von Rotterdam, De conscribendis epistolis / Anleitung zum Briefschreiben (Auswahl)*, in *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. VIII (Darmstadt, 1980), p. LXXXVI.

In order to keep this article within manageable length, I offer only a small sampling of the improvements needed in punctuation and paragraphing. For the same reason I refrain from noting each instance where an exact quotation from biblical, ancient, or patristic sources should be italicized. For a comprehensive account of such quotations the reader should consult the notes in CWE 26.

## 1. Textual notes

**205, 1. DESIDERIVS** This part of the name does not come from the copy text A, but from F (where it is abbreviated to "Des.").

**205, 3. quemquam** Read "quenquam" — the standard reading in both A and F. Make the same correction at p. 206, line 8; p. 432, line 1; p. 480, line 9; and p. 576, line 10. Similarly read "vtrunque" (not "vtrumque") at p. 212, lines 16-17; p. 277, line 16; p. 326, line 5; p. 447, line 3; p. 479, line 2; p. 490, line 12; and p. 539, line 10; "vtranque" (not "vtramque") at p. 268, line 6 and p. 562, line 3; "vtcunque" (not "vtcumque") at p. 255, line 15; p. 331, line 20; and p. 444, line 10; "plerunque" (not "plerumque") at p. 326, line 11; and p. 434, lines 23-24; "quaecunque" (not "quaecumque") at p. 330, line 10; "quemcunque" (not "quemcumque") at p. 478, line 19; "cuiuscunque" (not "cuiuscumque") at p. 531, line 20; "vndecunque" (not "vndecumque") at p. 516, line 8; "quenque" (not "quemque") at p. 326, line 13; p. 438, line 24; and p. 489, lines 8-9; "eorundem" (not "eorumdem") at p. 328, line 16; "quanque" (not "quamque") at p. 256, line 17; p. 351, line 20; and p. 389, line 6; "vnam quanque" (not "vnamquamque") at p. 514, line 13; "vnamquanque" (not "vnamquamque") at p. 367, line 8; "quandam" (not "quamdam") at p. 243, line 13; "tantundem" (not "tantumdem") at p. 398, line 14 and p. 494, line 6.

**206, 1. similes labra lactucas** This proverbial expression (*Adag.* 971; Otto 896) should be printed in italics, in accordance with the ASD convention. Do the same at p. 210, line 5 ("suum cuique pulchrum"); p. 210, line 17 ("pinguiore... Minerua"); p. 211, line 6 ("censoria virgula"); p. 213, line 12 ("Iliade... prolixior"); p. 215, line 10 ("scopas dissolutas"); p. 215, line 11 ("quicquid in buccam venerit"); p. 219, line 3 ("Cimeriis tenebris"); p. 222, line 10 ("scopae dissolutae"); p. 223, line 19 ("lucernam olens"); p. 225, line 17 ("humi serpere"); p. 249, line 5 ("per fas nefasque"); p. 251, lines 4-5 ("risum... Sardonium"); p. 251, line 7 ("plus aloës... quam mellis"); p. 259, lines 1-2 ("canis in balneo"); p. 261, line 4 ("Boeoticis suibus"); p. 262, line 15 ("nare sine cortice"); p. 273, line 13 ("surdo canitur fabula"); p. 274, line 10 ("tricas, apinas"); p. 275, lines 8-9 ("malo nodo malus... cuneus"); p. 301, line 12 ("quicquid in buccam venerit"); p. 302, line 26 ("scopae dissolutae"); p. 303, line 13 ("bonis... auibis"); p. 305, line 1 ("faciem perfricuit"); p. 305, line 3 ("oleum et operam"); p. 308, line 14 ("vtemur foro"); p. 314, line 6 ("circulum absolvere"); p. 320, line 19 ("cum nutricis lacte"); p. 341, line 7 ("currentem incitare"); p. 341, line 16 ("transuersum... agente"); p. 349, line 18 ("currentem... incitare"); p. 349, line 21 ("Impone summam manum"); p. 360, line 9 ("sponte currenti calcar... addam"); p. 362, line 24 ("Honos alit artes"); p. 363, lines 4-5 ("de gradu"); p. 364, line 5 ("irritat crabrones"); p. 364, line 13 ("addidisti calcar sponte currenti"); p. 365, lines 8-9 ("Omnis iacta sit alea"); p. 365, lines 10-11 ("vela ventis"); p. 365, line 15 ("iam currenti"); p. 400, lines 16-17 ("ab ipsis... cunabulis"); p. 431, line 3 ("plus aloes quam mellis"); p. 436, line 17 ("sursum ac deorsum"); p. 437, line 11 ("ab ipsis... incunabulis"); p. 437, line 12 ("vlulas Athenas"); p. 437, line 12 ("memo-rem... moneri"); p. 441, line 3 ("bonis auibis"); p. 443, lines 1-2 ("velut e...");

specula"); p. 443, lines 5-6 ("albae... gallinae filius"); p. 450, line 5 ("senectae limen"); p. 463, line 4 ("sus Mineruam"); p. 463, line 10 ("viuorum meminervis"); p. 465, line 6 ("vorsuram fecero"); p. 465, line 19 ("crassiore Minerua"); p. 466, line 3 ("magnum telum... necessitas"); p. 467, line 16 ("durissimum telum necessitas"); p. 467, line 17 ("tam... quam extrema faba"); p. 468, line 4 ("omnibus neruis"); p. 468, lines 23-24 ("ad bonam frugem"); p. 468, line 24 ("quod factum est, fieri... infectum"); p. 482, line 10 ("de manu... in manum"); p. 491, lines 15-16 ("tanquam aliquando osurus... oderis tanquam... amaturus"); p. 497, line 10 ("praeter casam... fugias"); p. 500, line 15 ("plenis... tibiis"); p. 500, lines 17-18 ("aureo piscari hamo"); p. 500, line 19 ("montes aureos"); p. 508, line 18 ("occultae musices"); p. 510, line 12 ("Incitauit... currentem"); p. 517, lines 23-24 ("diis iratis", "mente laeua"); p. 519, line 1 ("talpa caecior"); p. 520, line 9 ("quicquid... in buccam"); p. 531, line 17 ("ne pilo quidem"); p. 532, lines 7-8 ("malo nodo malus quaerendus cuneus"); p. 533, line 15 ("asinum ad lyram"); p. 534, lines 3-4 ("frontis perfrictae"); p. 540, line 27 — p. 541, line 1 ("quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest"); p. 550, line 2 ("bis... dat, qui cito dat"); p. 551, lines 10-11: ("in aere tuo"); p. 561, line 23 ("bonis auibus"); p. 578, line 3 ("Non omnibus dormio"). Proverbial expressions within quotations that are already printed in italics might well be set off with quotation marks: p. 225, line 29 ("Ouem lupo"); p. 226, line 1 ("nullus magnus malus piscis").

**206, 10. Posteaquam** Read "postea quam", as in A F. Make the same change at p. 231, line 7; p. 248, line 20; p. 276, line 13; p. 363, line 4; p. 487, line 1; p. 500, line 12.

**206, 12. re qualibet** In A F the verse break is typically marked by an extra-long space, followed by a capitalized word. To achieve the same effect in a modern edition, replace the extra space with a virgule and read "re / Qualibet". Make the same kind of change at p. 270, lines 1-2 ("O imitatores... tumultus"); p. 274, lines 7-8 ("Rides... indulges"); p. 323, lines 5-6 ("Quem... pudorem"); p. 352, lines 5-6 ("Disce... aliis"); p. 359, lines 13-14 ("monumentum... temporum"); critical apparatus at p. 407, line 5 — p. 408, line 1 ("Per me scriberis... caducum"); p. 422, lines 22-23 ("Felices... die"); p. 436, line 20 ("odimus... inuidi"); p. 437, line 31 — p. 438, line 1 ("si fractus... ruinae"); p. 455, lines 25-26 ("Si quid... mecum"); and p. 551, line 9 ("Sic... facit").

**206, 15. vt magis** Read: "vt magis decent hanc aetatem, ita magis", as in A F.

**207, 7. quam minimum** Read "quamminimum", as in A F.

**207, 10. conflictari?** Here, as in similar instances throughout ASD I.2, change the question mark to an exclamation point.

**207, 16. sit** Read "fit", as in A F.

**208, 7. Anno** The reading in A F is "An."

**209, 1. DESIDERIVS** In A the name is abbreviated as "D." ("Des." in F).

**210, 17. satisfaciendum** Read "satis faciendum", as in A F. Cf. p. 272, lines 3-4 ("satis facit"); p. 213, line 9: "satis fiat".

**211, 10. Epistolas** Read "epistolas", as in A F.

**211, 13. haudquaquam** Read "haud quaquam", as in A F.

**212, 12. infarciant** Correct this reading (F) to “infarciunt”, as in MS and A. Note that the parallel verb “possunt” (line 13) is in the indicative.

**213, 4. quoad** The reading in A F is “quo ad”.

**214, 3. phaleratum fuciue** Emend this reading (A F) to “phalerarum fuciue”, as in BAS and LB. Both “phalerarum” and “fuci” are dependent on “quid”. Cf. p. 215, line 8 below: “phaleras”; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 28, line 63: “verborum phaleris”.

**215, 2. Atqui** Correct this reading (LB) to “Atque”, as in A F.

**216, 2. verumetiam** Read “verum etiam”, as in A F.

**217, 6-7. hoc iuris... sibi vindicant** The critical apparatus at this point is quite confusing. All we need to know is that the lemma quoted above is taken from F and that MS A offer the erroneous reading: “hoc iuris sibi... sibi vindicant”.

**217, 13. posthac** Read “post hac”, as in A F (and at p. 538, line 13; p. 539, lines 3-4 and 7-8 below). Make the same change at p. 502, line 10.

**217, 14-15. sibi... scribere** Since this phrase is in indirect discourse, it should not be introduced with a colon. Only words that are an exact quotation should be put in italics.

**218, 8. non aliter... scopulum** This is Erasmus's paraphrase of the ancient dictum, not a quotation of it. Hence these words should not be in italics.

**219, 3. Cimeriis** The spelling “Cimeriis” in A is changed to the standard form “Cimmeriis” in F. For the spelling with a single “m” see Erasmus's comments in *Adag.* 1534, ASD II.4 (1987), pp. 44-45, lines 610-13.

**222, 4. cum iis** This phrase (F) is omitted in A. The critical apparatus is in error.

**225, 19. antennis** Read “antemnis”, as in A F.

**225, 23. sit** Read “fit”, as in A F [Sm].

**226, 5. irritabis** Read “iritabis”, as in A F. This is a standard spelling, consistently maintained throughout the copy text. See p. 249, line 23, with note; p. 256, line 20; p. 338, line 8; p. 364, line 5, with note; p. 371, 9, with note; p. 468, line 17; and, for instance, *Adag.* 60, ASD II.1 (1993), p. 172, lines 644-46 and 670; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 376, line 887.

**227, 16. efflagitanti** This is the reading of F. The copy text A has “flagitanti”, but that is not noted in the critical apparatus.

**228, 9. postremo quo** Read “postremo quod”, as in A F.

**229, 9-10. magna... confidentia** These words are not part of the quotation from Quint., *inst.*, 1, 1, 8, so there is no reason to italicize them; cf. *Antibar.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 51, lines 1-3 (lines 14-17). The translation in CWE (p. 23), which follows ASD on this point, should be corrected accordingly.

**229, 12. quidam** Correct this reading (A F) to “quidem”.

**232, 6-233, 9. Quanquam... inuitet** These lines form one long sentence and should be punctuated accordingly. Do the same at p. 233, line 16 — p. 234, line 5 (“Quod genus... adhortetur”) and at p. 234, line 5 — p. 235, line 11 (“At illa... consulat”).

**234, 20. Respublica** The critical apparatus gives the impression that this is the reading of A F, while MS offers the abbreviation “resp.” In fact, A F read



"Resp." This observation applies *mutatis mutandis* also to the apparatus at p. 235, line 10 and p. 237, line 8 below.

**237, 4. pro merito** Correct this reading (A) to "promerito", as in F.

**237, 11. ne Hercules** Correct this reading (A) to "ne Hercules quidem", as in F. See also *Adag.* 439 and, for example, *Ep.* 116, line 27.

**237, 18. quem** Correct this reading (A) to "quam", as in F [Sm].

**237, 23. ac flexis velis** Remove "ac" from the lemma in the critical apparatus.

**239, 7. suspectum** Read "suspectum conuictum", as in A F.

**240, 24. quo verior** The reading of G is omitted in the critical apparatus.

**241, 23. saluus. Perithoum suum tanquam** Read "saluus Pirithoum suum, tanquam". The spelling "Perithoum" in A F is a printing error.

**242, 6-9. licebit... iucundo** The verb "licebit" introduces a series of examples. Accordingly, it should be followed with a colon. The examples should either be italicized or put in quotation marks; the interjected phrases should be set off appropriately. Do the same in the following sections.

**243, 2. et seipsum** This is also the reading in F. The critical apparatus is in error.

**243, 4. poetae platonici** Read "poetae, Platonici", as in F. Also correct the translation in CWE (p. 32).

**243, 7-9. addita. Quidam... diuina. De mentibus** The interjected clause "quidam... diuina" should be placed within parentheses or dashes. The translation in CWE (p. 32) should be corrected accordingly.

**247, 5. ili** Read "illi" [Sm].

**248, 3. sese** The reflexive (A) should be omitted, as in F, since "praeparet" already has "animum suum" as its object (lines 1-2).

**248, 21. subministraverit** Read "subministrauerit". Infractions of the ASD spelling convention recur in this edition: p. 220, line 8 ("objectum"); p. 249, line 21 ("usu"); p. 286, line 18 ("invasisse"); p. 302, line 28 ("convenit"); p. 322, line 2 ("altervtrius"); p. 394, line 18 ("unquam"); critical apparatus at p. 407, line 5 — p. 408, line 1 ("iuventutis"); p. 421, line 8 ("benevolentia"); p. 421, line 15 ("convellitur"); p. 435, lines 10-11 ("cavendum"); p. 435, line 18 ("uxore"); p. 437, lines 3-4 ("revoceris"); p. 456, line 9 ("ullum"); p. 458, line 12 ("acquisivisti"); p. 490, line 21 ("vivendi"); p. 553, line 15 ("usus"); and p. 558, line 1 ("adversis").

**249, 16. per saxa, per ignes** Italicize this quotation from Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 1, 46.

**249, 23. irritare** Read "iritare", as in A F. Cf. note to p. 226, line 5 above.

**252, 23. non solum sibi nascitur** This is the reading of F. Cf. MS A, where the omission of "non" produces the reading "sibi nascitur". For the phrase "non sibi nascitur" (the one actually intended in MS A) cf. *Carm.* 40, 4: "patriae, non sibi natus erat"; *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 69 A: "patriae, non sibi nascitur"; *Enarrat. in Ps.* 1, ASD V.2 (1985), p. 66, line 14; see also p. 351, lines 16-17 below. The model is Cic., *Fin.*, 2, 14, 45 (citing Plat., *Epist.*, 9).

**252, 24. alii** Correct this reading (A) to "aliis", as in F.

**253, 22. nobilis** Correct this reading (A) to "nobiles", as in F.

**253, 23-254, 1. aut maximam adferre perniciem, si... si contra** The main clause is incomplete without a correlative "aut", lacking in A before "si contra". Read: "aut maximam adferre perniciem, si..., aut, si contra,...". F solves the problem by eliminating the correlative "aut" in line 23.

**254, 13. Hae** Correct this reading (A) to "Haec", as in F [Sm].

**255, 6. locus** Read "iocus", as in A F [Fa].

**256, 11. apertiore** According to the critical apparatus, MS reads "aptiore". However, if the stem of the "p" in this word was crossed to indicate an abbreviation for "per" (as I imagine it was), then MS also reads "apertiore".

**257, 10-11. titulum indidit, confessionum** Read "titulum indidit Confessionum".

**259, 7. Tunc in** Read "Tunc in", as in A F.

**259, 9. Tunc hominis** Read "Tunc hominis", as in A F.

**259, 17. indoctorum** Correct this reading (A) to "indoctum", as in F.

**261, 9. tractatum in eo... speculo** Read "tractatum, vt in eo perinde vt in speculo", as in the base text A. The awkward repetition of "vt" is avoided in F, where we find: "tractatum, vt in eo perinde ac speculo".

**264, 7. vtior ne** Read "vtiorme". Make the same type of correction at p. 276, line 7; p. 307, line 2; p. 376, line 15; p. 376, line 20; p. 385, line 12; p. 420, line 22; p. 462, line 4; p. 521, line 6; p. 524, line 4; p. 525, line 24 — p. 526, line 1; p. 526, lines 1 and 2; p. 531, line 13; p. 533, line 6; p. 538, line 25; p. 539, line 21; p. 541, line 7; and p. 546, line 10.

**264, 8. studium iuris** Correct this reading (A) to "studium medicinae", as in F [Fa].

**264, 13-14. praeter ea... argumenta** This clause, which according to the critical apparatus does not occur in MS, must have been added to the text at the last moment. In doing so, however, the printer evidently inserted it at the wrong location — after the second example rather than the third. Move it to the end of the sentence, after "collegerint" in line 16. The translation in CWE (p. 44) solves the problem in the same way.

**267, 3-4. Tu... dispicito** This example should be italicized or put in quotation marks. Do the same with the other examples in this section.

**267, 4. Tragicum** Read "tragicum".

**268, 11. sit** Read "fit", as in A F.

**269, 7-10. Deo** Read "deo" in each instance, as in A F (and just about everywhere else in the present edition). Similarly read "deus" at p. 427, line 7.

**270, 1. Risum** Since this is Erasmus's substitute for "Bilem" in Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 19, 20, the word should not be italicized.

**270, 15. hanc Petri sedem** These words are part of the quotation and hence should be italicized.

**272, 18. cuiusque** Read "cuiusquam", as in A F.

**274, 1. falsius** Read "salsius", as in A F [Fa].

**275, 21. personam... accipio** The critical apparatus contains several errors. The lemma omits "personam"; the reading of both A and F should have been reported as: "personam. Pape, accipio"; and the readings of B C D E are omitted.

277, 10. **recitandus** Correct this reading (A) to “recitanda”, as in F.

277, 13. **illos... bene viuere** Read: “illos, quos ita salutamus, bene viuere”.

278, 2. **addit, suo** Read “addit *suo*” (since “suo” is a quotation, it should be italicized; cf. p. 287, line 17 below).

278, 8. **irita** The reading in F is “irrita”. The critical apparatus is in error.

279, 2. **rerum** Read “reum”, as in A F.

279, 15. **Pronomina** Correct this reading (A) to “Praenomina”, as in F [Sm].

279, 18. **barbarus** This word makes no sense as it stands. We could, of course, capitalize it as a new *agnomen* and separate it with a comma from the preceding “Cato Vticensis” [Sm]. The problem with this solution is that “Barbarus”, while occurring as a *cognomen* since the Augustan period, is not familiar as an *agnomen* and, moreover, has no specific name attached to it here. The better option is to remove “barbarus” altogether, as in F.

280, 7. **familiarium** Correct this reading (A) to “familiarum”, as in F.

282, 12. **Comicum** Read “comicum”.

282, 16-283, 4. **Perspicacissimo... salute** The passage consists of one long sentence. Accordingly change the intervening full stops to commas and the capital letters to lower case.

283, 1. **gezophylacio** Read “gazophylacio”, as in A F; cf. p. 282, line 9 above. In the manuscript quoted in Johannes Despauterius, *Syntaxis* (Paris, 1509), sig. R5<sup>v</sup>, the reading is “gazophilacio”. See Judith Rice Henderson, ‘Despauterius’ *Syntaxis* (1509): The Earliest Publication of Erasmus’ *De conscribendis epistolis*, *HL* 37 (1988), 193.

283, 6. **Venus** Change this reading (A F) to “venus”.

283, 9. **Gelasinus** Correct this reading (A F) to “Gelasimus” [Sm]. The former (“laughter”) is the name of an interlocutor in *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), pp. 438-49; the latter (“laughable”) is the name of a parasite in Plautus’s *Stichus*.

283, 23. **trecentorum cognominum** Correct this reading (A) to “titulum trecentorum cognominum”, as in F.

284, 2. **Francus... Atticus** The correct reading is “Francicus... Anticus” (F).

284, 5. **et caetera** This quotation should either be italicized or put in quotation marks.

284, 8-9. **loco salutis... vice salutis... loco salutis** There is no reason to italicize any of these phrases.

285, 11. **reullere** Read “reuellere”, as in A F [Sm].

285, 12. **glossa Iacobi** Read “Glossa Iacobi”.

286, 5. **Trib. Mil.** Read “trib. mil.” Cf. note at p. 478, line 12 below.

286, 10. **Marcionem** Read “marcionem”. Similarly read “ammiraldus”, “marisschalcus”, “seneschalcus”, and “baro” in lines 15 and 17.

286, 20. **de legibus** Read “De legibus”.

287, 1. **de magistratibus** Read “De magistratibus”.

287, 5. **sumum** This epithet should be italicized or put in quotation marks.

287, 6. **Βασιλέα** Read “βασιλέα”, as in A F.

287, 13. **notat ac recitat** Correct this reading (A) to “notant ac recitant”, as in F.

290, 9. **dominis, domini** Correct this reading (A) to “dominis *domni*”, as in F [Fa].

**291, 1. praestantes viros** These words should not be italicized.

**291, 2. Ornatos... obseruandos** Read "Ornatos virtute aut eruditione prae-cellentes *obseruandos*".

**291, 25. fortissimum... inuictissimum** These epithets should be italicized just like the preceding two in lines 24-25.

**294, 11-13. Quid... ore** Read: "Quid enim si... dixero 'patrem patriae'? Ridebit... ore." The phrase "crasso Calphurnius ore" is not a quotation in need of italics, but an allusion to Pers., 5, 190: "crassum ridet Pulfenius [*al.*: Fulfenius; Vulfennius; Vulphernius] ingens". Cf. the early draft quoted in Johannes Despauterius, *Syntaxis* (Paris, 1509), sig. S1<sup>v</sup>: "Quid enim si regem... 'piissimum' dixero? Ridebit me crasso Vulphanus ore." See Henderson, 'Despauterius' *Syntaxis* (1509)', *HL* 37 (1988), 201.

**295, 18. ἔρρωσο** Read "ἔρρωσο".

**297, 11. reddit** Correct this reading (A) to "reddidit", as in F. A perfect tense is required because of the preceding pluperfect and the following perfect tenses. Cf. Cic., *Att.*, 5, 19, 1: "Obsignaram iam epistulam..., cum subito Apellae tabellarius... mihi tuas litteras reddidit."

**297, 18. te** Since it repeats "te" in line 17, the pronoun is redundant and should be removed from the text, as in F.

**298, 9. siue** The conjunction should not be italicized.

**300, 5. Annos... nonaginta** This phrase belongs to the list of examples and hence should be italicized.

**301, 6. etsi** Read "et si", as in A F. Make the same correction at p. 457, line 10 (twice); p. 459, line 1; p. 459, line 5; p. 471, line 1; p. 475, line 9; p. 482, line 20; p. 484, line 2; p. 490, line 13; p. 503, line 27; p. 509, line 24; p. 526, line 25; p. 528, lines 16-17; p. 530, line 22; p. 531, line 3; p. 535, line 10; p. 544, line 20; p. 552, line 17; p. 564, line 1; p. 565, line 28; and p. 570, line 12.

**303, 9. musas** Read "Musas". Make the same kind of correction at p. 308, line 10; p. 432, line 1; p. 495, line 10; and p. 523, line 4 below.

**305, 5. mentem** Read "in mentem", as in A F.

**305, 8. eadem opera** The reading of C is omitted in the critical apparatus.

**305, 12. decensus** Read "descensus", as in A F.

**307, 11. illiusmodi** Read "illius modi", as in A F.

**308, 8. admouebo** Read "admonebo", as in A F.

**308, 9. spatiosis** Read "spetiosis" (or "speciosis", as in F).

**310, 3. conpescimus** Read "compescimus".

**310, 11. minus** Correct this reading (A) to "nimis", as in F [Fa].

**312, 13. sciscitoriam** Correct this reading (A) to "sciscitatoriam", as in F.

**312, 14. ethnicae** Correct this reading (A) to "ethicae", as in F [Fa].

**314, 13. μεγαρέων... λόγος** Read "Μεγαρέων... λόγος?"

**314, 13-14. Verum... praescribere** The critical apparatus reports that A offers the reading "Vtrum... scribere". In fact A also reads "Verum... praescribere".

**316, 4. vti in suasionem** Correct this reading (A) to "vti suasionem", as in F.

**317, 9. alienatur** Read "alienetur", as in A F [Sm].

**317, 15. quendam** Read “quandam”, as in A F.

**322, 19. praeparatiores** Emend this reading (A F) to “praeparatiorem” [Sm].

**322, 19-20. quo descripturi simus** Smolak proposes to emend this phrase to “quod descripturi simus”. The correct reading, however, is “quo de scripturi simus”, as in A F. Cf. Cic., *Inv.*, 2, 48, 141: “earum rerum quibus de scriptum est vtilitatem”. For the position of “de” after the relative pronoun cf. also Cic., *Inv.*, 1, 28, 41; 1, 54, 104; 2, 11, 37; Lucr., 6, 940; Erasmus, *Carm.* 88, 88: “quo de gaudeo”; p. 503, line 14 below: “quo de lis est”.

**323, 11. tum** Read “cum”, as in A F.

**323, 16. inquam** The word is part of the quotation and should be italicized too.

**324, 9. prospectum** Correct this reading (A) to “perspectum”. Cf. F, where the word is misprinted as “prespectum”.

**327, 8. nepharios**, Remove the comma, as in F.

**327, 20. accommodaueris** Correct this reading (A) to “accommodauerit” (F) [Fa].

**328, 19. intelliget** The reading of G is omitted in the critical apparatus.

**328, 20. quibus cum** In A F enclitic “cum” is virtually always separated from a preceding pronoun. The only exception I have found is at p. 568, line 8, where we read “quibuscum” in both A and F. An editor may, of course, conjoin the words (just as one does with such enclitics as interrogative “-ne”), provided the change is noted globally in the introduction. For other examples see p. 329, line 26 (“quibus cum”); p. 349, line 25 (“qua cum”); p. 350, line 4 (“qui cum”); p. 375, line 15 (“qui cum”); p. 421, line 4 (“qui cum”, twice); p. 424, line 10 (“qua cum”); p. 430, line 13 (“qui cum”); p. 453, line 8 (“qui cum”); p. 455, line 11 (“qui cum”); p. 472, lines 1 and 14 (“quibus cum”).

**328, 25. longe interuallo** Correct this reading (A) to “longo interuallo”, as in F.

**328, 28. omnium**, Remove the comma, as in F.

**329, 3. putabitur... non** Read “putabitur. Ostendemus non”.

**330, 10. etiamsi** Read “etiam si”, as in A F.

**331, 8. minora paria** Read “minora, paria”, as in F.

**333, 5. sententiae... parabola**e The critical apparatus omits the readings of C D E.

**334, 6. vlsciscendos fontes** Read “vlsciscendos sontes”, as in F. The reading in A is “vsciscendos sontes”.

**334, 17. earum** Correct this reading (A) to “eorum”, as in F.

**334, 20-21. Aul. Gellium** Read “Au. Gellium”, as in A F.

**334, 23. Delphino** Read “delphino” (cf. line 20 above).

**336, 4. Syriacis** This is the reading of F. The copy text A has “Syricis”, but this is not noted in the critical apparatus.

**ac** This conjunction was tacitly inserted by the ASD editor.

**336, 5. Barbara... Ethnicis** Read “barbara... ethnicis”, as in A F.

**337, 1. Illiade** Read “Iliade”, as in A F.

**338, 5. Aniani** A footnote at LB I, 390 says that the reading "Aniani" (A F) is erroneous and ought to be emended to "αἴνοι, vel *Aeni*", as in Quint., *inst.*, 5, 11, 20. CWE 26, p. 518 (note 32 to p. 88), tacitly changing "Aniani" to "Auiani", prefers the emendation "αἴnov" on the grounds that the fourth-century fabulist Avianus could not very well have been mentioned by Quintilian. To this we may object that Erasmus is not so much quoting Quintilian as updating him for the benefit of his readers, to whom Avianus was as familiar as Aesop. We should furthermore point out that the form "Aniani" was actually a fairly common variant of the name Avianus in the early sixteenth century. It first appeared in the Aldine edition of Aesop's and Avianus's fables (Venice, 1505). From there it was copied in the posthumous editions of Willem Hermans's *Fabule* (Louvain: Martens, 1513; Strasbourg: Schürer, 1515; and the German reprints). See BB, no. A 154 and 155; cf. Erasmus, *Adag.* 730, ASD II.2, p. 252, ll. 405-06: "ex apologo quopiam Aniani fabulatoris." The translation in CWE (p. 88) should be changed to: "To this class Quintilian also reckons the fables of Aesop and Anianus which he calls λόγοι μυθικοί, that is, mythical tales."

**343, 3-4. Tu ne... carmen.** Read "Tune... carmen?" Since the sentence in Verg., *Ecl.*, 3, 26 starts off with "non tu", "Tune" should not be printed in italics.

**344, 12. vnum peruenitur; interdum** Read "vnum, peruenitur interdum".

**346, 8-10. quem... complere** Only the words actually quoted from Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 25, 63 should be italicized.

**346, 16-17. Nauarchus** Read "nauarchus".

**347, 4. e Troianis** Correct this reading (A) to "a Troianis", as in F.

**347, 6. symposio** Read "Symposio".

**347, 10. Ciceronis** Both A and F read "Cic."

**347, 17. expresserat** Emend this reading (A F) to "expresserit", as in Ter., *Eun.*, 68.

**347, 18-19. vitam... dubitem** This (hypothetical) quotation, which ought to be introduced with a colon, should either be printed in italics or placed within quotation marks.

**351, 5. Debbore** Change this reading (A) to "Debborae", as in F.

**351, 11. proai** The context demands that this reading (S A) be corrected to "ai", as in F. Note too that the sidenotes in S A F all read "Exemplum ai".

**351, 19. rei publicae** Read "reipublicae". (A F read "reip.", as usual.)

**353, 7. vtere satis** Read "vtere fatis", as in S A F.

**354, 11. suscipimus** Correct this reading (A F) to "suscepimus" as in S and Cic., *Ad Q. fr.*, 1, 1, 41.

**354, 21. etc.** The word should not be italicized.

**354, 22-358, 3. Tu... laudem** These sections are made up of numerous extracts from different letters and authors. Put each of the extracts in a separate paragraph, as in CWE.

**355, 6. hic... vigila** Correct this reading (A) to "haec quies; in his vigilia", as in F and Plin., *Epist.*, 1, 3, 3.

**355, 18. posteritatis** Read "potestatis", as in A F and Plin., *Paneg.*, 55, 9. The translation in CWE (p. 99) should be corrected accordingly.

**356, 4. cohortatione ne** Read “cohortatio ne”, as in **F** and Cic., *Fam.*, 1, 7, 9. In **A** these words are wrongly printed as “cohortatione”.

**356, 5. etc.** There is no reason to italicize the word.

**356, 8. Lib. IX** This is the reading of **F**. The reading of **A** is “Lib. 9”.

**356, 11. lib. X** This is the reading of **F**. The reading of **A** is “lib. 10”.

**Furuium** Correct this reading (**A**) to “Furnium”, as in **F** and Cic., *Fam.*, 10, 3, 1.

**357, 25. Sic** The forms “Sic” (**F**) and “Si” (**A**) reflect variant readings in the textual tradition of Plin., *Epist.*, 1, 8, 15. While the manuscripts and the early editions read “Sic”, the Aldine edition of 1508 prints “Si”. (For Erasmus’s use of this edition see ASD I.2, p. 271, line 4; also see my note at p. 571, lines 5-6 below. The reading “Volo” at p. 459, line 22 and “nullas mihi” at p. 524, line 5 can likewise be traced to the Aldine edition of 1508.) Incidentally, the readings of **B C E G** are omitted in the critical apparatus.

**358, 5. ἀμύνεσθαι** Read “ἀμύνεσθαι”, as in **A F** and Hom., *Il.*, 12, 243. Make the same correction in the critical apparatus.

**Ἀλκιμός ἐστ’ ἵνα** Read “Ἀλκιμος ἐσς’, ἵνα”, as in Hom., *Od.*, 1, 302 and Cic., *Fam.*, 13, 15, 1. (The reading in **A F**, misprinted in ASD, is “ἄλκιμός ἐσς’ ἵνα”.)

**358, 6. ἐστὲ** Read “ἐστε”, as in Hom., *Il.*, 5, 529.

**δοῦριδος** Read “θοῦριδος”, as in **A F** and Hom., *Od.*, 4, 527.

**359, 14. innumerabiles** Correct this reading (**A**) to “innumerabilis”, as in **F** and Hor., *Carm.*, 3, 30, 4. Cf. p. 342, line 10 above, where “series” is also in the singular.

**359, 24. Si te... rerum** Italicize these words, quoted from Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 272.

**361, 2. impetrarit** Correct this reading (**A**) to “imperarit”, as in **F**.

**361, 13-14. Perge... positum est** Erasmus paraphrases Cic., *Fam.*, 10, 12, 5: “Perge igitur, vt agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati.... Verum decus in virtute positum est...”. Since they belong together, the two sentences should not be printed in separate paragraphs. Make the same correction in CWE (p. 104).

**362, 9. vendicant** This is the reading of **F**. For the reading of **A** (“vindicant”) cf. “Vindicatio” at p. 368, line 11 below; “vindicet” at p. 409, line 9.

**363, 10. Facilis... gradum** Since these words are quoted from Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 126 and 6. 128, they should be italicized; cf. p. 305, lines 12-13 above.

**363, 12. In te... recumbit** Italicize this quotation from Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 59.

**364, 5. irritat** This is the reading of **F**; the reading of **A** is “iritat”. For the latter form see note at p. 226, line 5 above.

**364, 8-9. gigantibus... gigantum** For consistency’s sake, capitalize these words, as on p. 409, line 12 and p. 410, line 14.

**366, 10. potissimum sumus** This is the reading in **F**. **A** prints “potissi” at the end of the page (with the catchword on sig. y3<sup>r</sup> reading “mum”); the next page starts off with “mus” rather than with the correct “mum sumus”.

**367, 3-4. veritatem, pactum** Emend this reading (**S A F**) to “veritatem; consuetudo in pactum”, as indicated in the errata list of **S**. Cf. Cic., *Inv.*, 2, 53, 161:

"Naturae ius est quod non opinio genuit, sed quaedam in natura vis inseuit, vt religionem, pietatem, gratiam, vindicationem, obseruantiam, veritatem"; 2, 54, 162, discussing "consuetudine ius": "quod genus pactum est, par, iudicatum". Cf. also p. 368, line 13 — p. 369, line 2 below, where "consuetudo" is defined immediately before "pactum". The translation in CWE (p. 108) should be corrected accordingly.

**368, 1-2. docti, viri** Read "docti, indocti, viri", as in S A F [Fa].

**371, 9. irritas** This is the reading of F; the reading of A is "iritas". For the latter form see note at p. 226, line 5 above.

**371, 13. Aul. Gellium** This is the reading of F; the reading of A is "Au. Gellium".

**372, 8. ad hoc** Correct this reading (A) to "ab hoc", as in S F. Cf. lines 10 and 12.

**377, 9. confirmatio** Correct this reading (A F) to "confirmatio est", as in S.

**377, 14. docui** Read "docui, iudices", as in S A F.

**378, 22. cui debere** To all appearances this phrase is the result of a botched correction on Erasmus's part, caused by vagueness in the errata list of S. Siberch instructs us to read "cui debere" on sig. F2<sup>v</sup>, but neglects to specify precisely where this correction is to be inserted. What was a busy man like Erasmus to do? Seeing that the first "cui" on sig. F2<sup>v</sup> already had "debitorem" following it (p. 378, line 21), he latched on to the second "cui" (p. 378, line 22) and added "debere". But the clause as printed in S does not need "debere" — indeed, it makes far better sense without it: "... ne sit cui superbissimus simul et ingratissimus homo videatur" ("... so there would be no one to whom he would seem both proud and thankless in the extreme"). Evidently Erasmus never noticed the third "cui" on sig. F2<sup>v</sup> (p. 379, line 1), where the correction makes far better sense: "deuinctiorem illi..., cui homo superbissimus minime velit". It is here, I submit, that "debere" ought to have been added. Compare p. 468, line 33 — p. 469, line 1 below: "At ego ingenui minimeque ingrati animi existimo, cui multum debeas, ei plurimum velle debere." Accordingly, "debere" should be taken from its mistaken resting place at p. 378, line 22 and put after "cui" at p. 379, line 1: "deuinctiorem illi..., cui debere homo superbissimus minime velit". The translation in CWE (p. 115) will need to be corrected at the first instance, not at the second (p. 116), for there it already has: "wishes to be obliged".

**381, 9. iniusto** This is the reading, not just of S F, but also of A (where the word is divided at the end of the line without a hyphen — a common occurrence in this print). We are thus dealing here with a pseudo-variant that should be removed from the critical apparatus.

**382, 12. videbat** Correct this reading (A F) to "videbatur", as in S.

**384, 5-6. sapiens... iustus... pius** These epithets should be capitalized, as in F.

**385, 1. oraculis... dictis** Punctuate as in S F: "oraculis, diuinitus dictis". (For the phrase "diuinitus dictis" see Cic., *De or.*, 1, 7, 28; 2, 2, 7; 3, 1, 4.) Accordingly, the translation in CWE (p. 119) should be corrected from "divinely spoken oracles" to "oracles, divine sayings".

**385, 3. Barbarus** Read "barbarus".



**386, 2. rationes** Emend this reading (S A F) to "orationes" [Fa]. Cf. p. 384, lines 4-5 above: "facta, casus, orationes"; Cic., *Inv.*, 1, 24, 34; 1, 25, 36.

**386, 5. faciendi** Before this word insert "aliquid", omitted in all the early editions, but restored in the errata list of S. Cf. line 8 below: "aliquid faciendum"; Cic., *Inv.*, 1, 25, 36: "Consilium est aliquid faciendi aut non faciendi excogitata ratio."

**387, 1. occulte** Correct this reading (A F) to "occulte", as in S.

**387, 4-15. Proditor... excogitet** Read: "'Proditor es patriae, Catilina!' 'Nisi... excogitet'".

**387, 17. ab iis locis. Ab exemplo,... contrario** Read "ab iis locis: ab exemplo,... contrario". CWE (p. 121) neglecting to translate "ab iis locis", takes the words "minori, maiori, aequali, et contrario" to be adjectives with "exemplo": "All proof derives from greater or smaller, similar or opposite examples." But as the phrase "ab iis locis" indicates, proof derives not just from example, but also from the following topics: "lesser, greater, like, and opposite".

**388, 2-9. Oportet... innouandum** This passage forms a single paragraph that should be set off with quotation marks.

**388, 5. passi sunt** Correct this reading (A F) to "passi non sunt", as in S. The sense is: "In the interest of the republic our ancestors expelled the kings and did not allow the decemvirs to carry on their absolute rule, but preferred to entrust power to the tribunes." The translation in CWE (p. 121) should be corrected accordingly.

**388, 11-389, 3. Continuare... videretur** This passage should be set off with quotation marks. Start a new paragraph after the quotation ends. Do the same in the subsequent passages where Erasmus offers hypothetical examples.

**388, 14. ad ornamdam** Emend this reading (S A F) to "ad ornamdam legibus", as indicated in the errata list of S.

**389, 4. studiosus** Emend this reading (S A F) to "studiosius", as indicated in the errata list of S.

**391, 1. iunctis** Emend this reading (S A F) to the proper technical term "adiunctis", as indicated in the errata list of S. Cf. p. 394, line 16 below: "Ab adiunctis".

**392, 20. psittacus** Read "psitacus", as in S A F. For this spelling see also p. 496, line 8 below; and, for example, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 206, line 260; *Comm. in Ov.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 149, lines 5 and 7.

**396, 11. cessissent** This is the reading of F. The reading "cesserint" (S A) occurs also in Quint., *inst.* 5, 11, 9 and at p. 331, line 16 above.

**396, 12. magnitudine** Read "magnitudine, multitudine", as in S A F [Fa].

**397, 2. forte** Read "sorte", as in S A F. Cf. lines 18, 21, and 22 below. Here and in the parallel sentences the translation in CWE (pp. 126-27) should be corrected from "by chance" to "by lot".

**397, 26; 398, 1. Carthaginienses** Read "Carthaginenses", as in S A F. For this spelling see, for instance, *Parab.*, ASD I.5 (1975), p. 240, lines 316 and 318; *Adag.*, ASD II.1 (1993), p. 122, line 454; p. 147, line 46; and ASD II.5 (1981), p. 289, lines 7-8.

**399, 3. Diuisio sit** Read "Diuisio fit", as in S A F.

**399, 9. satis iam** Read "satis, iam", as in F. (Incidentally, the reading of C is omitted in the critical apparatus; B is said to read "satis iam" and "iam satis".)

**399, 16. ratione** Correct this reading (S A) to "narratione", as in F [Fa].

**401, 10. plenumque** The critical apparatus in ASD I.5 (1975) at p. 385, line 15 reports that the reading in  $\gamma$  is "plerumque". In fact it is "plenumque".

**401, 13. ascriptam** Change this reading (S) to "asscriptam" as in  $\beta \gamma A \delta F$ . The critical apparatus in ASD I.2 is in error.

**403, 3. prouulgasse** This is the reading in  $\beta \gamma A \delta F$ . IJsewijn proposes emending it to "promulgasse" (which, as it happens, is also the reading in S). The verbs "promulgo" and "prouulgo", however, are so often confused in the manuscripts and early editions that they became virtually interchangeable.

**403, 13. Ecclesia** Read "ecclesia" as in  $\beta \gamma S A \delta F$  and at p. 405, line 7 below. Make the same change at p. 405, line 9.

**404, 1. coluntur** The critical apparatus reports that F reads "coentur". In fact it reads "coeuntur".

**404, 15. pro modo nostro** Correct this reading (A) to "pro modulo nostro", as in  $\delta F$ . Cf. Apul., *Met.*, 11, 24: "pro meo modulo".

**405, 7. quod** Tunberg (p. 220) rightly suggests that we retain this conjunction over the reading "atque" in S. His statement that  $\gamma$  also has "atque" needs to be qualified, however. The [September?] 1518 edition of *Encomium matrimonii* reads "quod". It is the November 1518 reprint of this work (Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam: 3 D 13/2) that reads "atque" here.

**407, 5-408, 1 (app. crit.). Caesar Augustus** The reading in F is "Caes. Augustus".

**Caesar leges** Read "Caesarum leges".

**vbique praecipuum** Read "vbique praecipuum".

**Simulatque** Read "Simul atque" ( $\delta F$ ).

**Et cui tredecim** Correct this reading (LB) to "Ei cui tredecim" ( $\delta F$ ).

**liberorum procreatione** This is the reading of  $\delta$  and LB, not of F. In F the reading is: "liberorum procuratione".

**408, 7. Barbaricis** Read "barbaricis".

**411, 12-13. Eurydicem** Read "Eurydicen", as in A  $\delta F$ . (The reading in  $\beta \gamma S$  is "Euridicen".)

**412, 2. praefecerat** Correct this reading (F) to "praefecerit", as in  $\beta \gamma S A \delta$ .

**414, 2. vnus**, Remove the comma (A  $\delta$ ), as in  $\beta \gamma S F$ . Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 96, lines 478-79.

**415, 2. foedum** Correct this reading ( $\gamma S A \delta F$ ) to "foedum est", as in  $\beta$ .

**415, 5. pugnet** This is the reading in  $\beta \gamma S A \delta F$ . The critical apparatus mistakenly reports that A reads "pugnat".

**416, 7. Chisti** Read "Christi".

**422, 14. fratrum** Read "fratrum, sororum", as in  $\beta \gamma S A \delta F$ .

**424, 5. Rara... auis in terris** Italicize this quotation from Iuv., 6, 165.

**425, 3-5. disquiris, quasi... incommodi? Quasi... casibus.** Read: "disquiris? Quasi... incommodi, quasi... casibus!"

**425, 9. quotumquenque** Read "quotum quenque", as in A  $\delta F$ . Cf. p. 426, line 3 below, with note.

**426, 1. tot** This is the reading of  $\delta$  F. The reading “tantis” of  $\beta$   $\gamma$  S and the copy text A is well attested in the sense “tot”, also in the classical period.

**426, 3. quotusquisque** Change this reading ( $\beta$   $\gamma$  S) to “quotus quisque”, as in A  $\delta$  F. Cf. p. 425, line 9 above, with note.

**427, 10-15. Vt enim... habiturus** “Vt” [“Quemadmodum” in  $\delta$  F] in line 10 correlates with “ita” in line 13. Hence these lines should be repunctuated to form a single sentence. The parenthetical clause “verum... redeundum” in lines 12-13 should be set off with dashes.

**429, 15. exercitacione** Change this reading (S) to “excercitatione”, as in A F. For this spelling see the notes at p. 512, line 9 below (“excercendi”), p. 519, line 18 (“excercitatum”), and p. 527, line 23 (“excercitusque”); cf. also, for example, Ep. 1193, lines 8-9 and 12.

**430, 10. seruitus. Accedit** Read “seruitus, accedit”, as in S. The translation in CWE (p. 146) should be changed to: “Besides, since the servitude is mutual, there is the further disadvantage...”.

**430, 13. quo cum** Read “qui cum” as in S A F. Cf. p. 350, line 4; p. 421, line 4 (twice); and p. 455, line 11. For the spelling see note at p. 328, line 20 above.

**433, 32. dolore** Smolak proposes to emend this misprint to “dolori”. However, the correct reading is “dolere”, as in S A F.

**434, 22. gradum... ad maxima commoda iactum** Wrongly claiming support from BAS and LB, CWE 26, p. 535 (note 7 to p. 150) proposes to emend this reading (S A F) to “gradum... ad maxima commoda factum”. But to change the text in this way is to blunder into an editorial anachronism. Erasmus here imitates Cic., *Leg. agr.*, 2, 15, 38, where all the mss. and early editions read: “hunc quasi gradum quendam atque aditum ad cetera iactum intellegitis [intelligetis; intelligitis]”. The emended reading “... factum esse” is first found in *In M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes de lege agraria contra P. Seruilium Rulum... commentarius*, ed. B. Lauredanus (Venice, 1558).

**435, 13. Tityrum** This is the reading of F. The copy text A (like S) has “Tytirum”, a fairly common medieval and Renaissance spelling.

**436, 3. doleat.** Change the full stop to a question mark, as in F.

**436, 19. Praesentem** The word is not part of the quotation from Horace and hence should not be italicized.

**436, 34. Peroportune** This is a standard spelling in S A F that (pace IJsewijn) does not need correcting. Cf. p. 208, line 5 (“oportunitas”); p. 551, line 18 (“oportunius”); *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 187, line 941 (“Oportune”); p. 188, line 949 (“oportuna”).

**437, 12. aiunt** Correct this reading (A F) to “quod aiunt”. (The other possible emendation, “vt aiunt”, does not work well here because “vt” appears both in the preceding sentence and in the very next line.)

**439, 3. ad hoc... ludo** Read “ab hoc... ludo”, as in S A F.

**439, 9. iustus** The epithet should be capitalized.

**440, 28. His** Read “Hiis”, as in S A F.

**442, 19. vtraque iuxta secundum** Assuming that “iuxta” is a preposition doubling “secundum”, IJsewijn proposes to delete “iuxta”. But “iuxta” is used

here as an adverb meaning "equally" or "alike". For the phrase "vtraque iuxta" see *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 70, lines 20-21: "linguae vtriusque iuxta ignarus"; also p. 493, line 18 — p. 494, line 1 below: "vtroque... iuxta offendi-tur".

**443, 4. senum ac iuuenum funera** Italicize this quotation from Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 28, 19.

**446, 3. interisti** As part of the quotation, this word should be italicized.

**Alcynone** This is the reading in A. In  $\alpha$   $\beta$  we find "Alcynonen", in  $\delta$  "Alci-noe". The correct reading is the Greek vocative form given in F: "Alcyoneu". For the form "Alcyoneus" see Plut., *Mor.*, 119 c-d, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 33; Val. Max., 5, 1, ext. 4; Erasmus, *Apophth.* 4, 29, LB IV, 205 C-D (where the vocative is given as "Alcyonee").

**446, 6. capitolium** Read "Capitolium".

**446, 11. Q. Fabium** Change this reading ( $\delta$ ) to "Qu. Fabium", as in  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F. Cf. p. 234, line 13, p. 303, line 3, p. 490, line 13, and p. 573, line 25, where ASD does retain the abbreviation "Qu."

**447, 8. vsque adeo** Read "vsqueadeo", as in  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F.

**448, 3. Infantum** For this form, found in all the early editions, see *Thes. L.L.*, VII, 2070, line 28. There is no need to change it to "In tantum", as Tunberg (p. 223, note 41) proposes.

**449, 6. optimum... aboleri** Erasmus conflates Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 48, 114 ("non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori") with Plin., *Nat.*, 7, 1, 4 ("non nasci optimum... aut quam ocissime aboleri"). Accordingly the entire sententia should be printed in italics.

**449, 9. quis ipsi** Read "quis ipse", as in  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F. Cf. Cic., *Fin.*, 5, 10, 28: "si quis ipse sibi inimicus est".

**450, 25. vsque adeo** Read "vsqueadeo", as in  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F.

**451, 14. Si quis** Change this reading ( $\beta$ ) to "Siquis", as in  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F.

**455, 9-10. His ferme rationibus..., quae tibi communia facere volui** Tunberg (p. 224) proposes to emend "rationibus" to "omnibus" to eliminate the incongruity of the feminine antecedent with the neuter pronoun and adjective ("quae... communia"). But "quae... communia" is neuter because Erasmus is already anticipating the synonymous "his remediis" in the next clause. For the abrupt change in gender due to anticipation cf. p. 240, lines 9-11 above: "commoda... solae [sc. opes]"; and p. 427, lines 13-15 (in  $\beta$   $\gamma$  S A, but changed in ( $\delta$  F): "coelibatus... habitura [sc. virginitas]").

**455, 29-460, 10. Quapropter... sollicitudo** The passages quoted in these (and later) sections should either be italicized or (preferably) put in quotation marks. Readers should consult the annotations in CWE 26 for comprehensive references to Erasmus's sources.

**456, 22. Lib. IV** Read "Lib. IIII", as in A (lower case; F uses the arabic numeral). Make the same correction at p. 464, line 12; p. 485, line 6; p. 529, line 4; p. 544, line 20; p. 545, lines 18 and 19; p. 546, line 17; p. 570, line 14; p. 571, line 18; and p. 578, line 27.

**epist** Read "epist." Make the same correction at p. 537, line 8; p. 544, lines 20, 22, and 23; p. 545, lines 16-20; and p. 546, lines 8, 10, and 16-18.

**458, 8. ἀθήνας** Read “Ἀθήνας”.

**458, 9. Noui quid** A note in ASD insinuates that this reading is a corruption of Cic., *Fam.*, 6, 4, 1 (“Noui quod”). The form quoted by Erasmus, however, simply reflects another manuscript tradition.

**459, 12-13. aditu** This is the reading of F, replacing “auditu” in the copy text A and all the manuscripts and early editions of Cic., *Att.*, 2, 24, 1. The emended reading “aditu” first occurs in Johann Herwagen’s edition of Cicero’s works (Basel, 1534). Editors of Cicero’s text are still not agreed on which reading is the better one.

**459, 17. Plinii secundi** Read “Plinii Secundi”; cf. p. 494, line 7 below.

**461, 6. quamque** Read “quam”, as in A F.

**461, 9. quadraginta quatuor** Read “quadragintaquatuor”, as in A F.

**461, 25. in dies** Read “indies”, as in A F.

**462, 8. prodes.** Replace the full stop with a question mark, as in S. The translation in CWE (p. 170) should be corrected accordingly.

**463, 1. te** Remove this pronoun (S A F), as in LB, since “te” also occurs in the next line, at a more natural position.

**463, 16. δακρύεξ** Read “δακρύει”, as in A F. The translation in CWE (p. 171) should be corrected to: “He weeps at his stepmother’s grave.”

**464, 12. Serui** The critical apparatus reports that F capitalizes this name. It does not.

**465, 11-13. primum... remuneratio** These words paraphrase Servius’s text and hence should not be italicized.

**467, 2-3. sit... sit rediturum** Correct this reading (A) by removing the redundant “sit” in line 3, as in F.

**468, 16-17. est vt... condunt** Read: “est. Vt... condunt!”

**469, 7. fefelisse** Read “fefellisse” and add an exclamation point.

**471, 8. persuadeas, velim omnia** Read “persuadeas velim, omnia”, as in A F and in modern editions of Cic., *Att.*, 2, 22, 5.

**472, 8. Coss.** The critical apparatus misrepresents the reading of A F. Both texts in fact read “COSS.”

**474, 11. lib. VII** Heeding a note in ASD (which states that this letter is taken from *Polit.*, *Epist.*, 8, 13), CWE 25, p. 179 tacitly corrects Erasmus’s reference and translates it as “book 8”. But the letter referred to is, in fact, *Epist.*, 7, 13.

**476, 5-6. Faciam... libenter** This sentence is not part of the incipit of *Plin.*, *Epist.*, 3, 8, as the italics imply and the editor’s note confirms, but derives from *Plin.*, *Epist.*, 3, 15, 2 [Fa]. Hence it should be printed just like other such quotations and put in a paragraph of its own.

**477, 1-7. Vehementer... aperiemus** These lines form a single sentence. The main clause “Vehementer commendationem iuuabit” (l. 1) governs the two conditional clauses, “si eum... dicemus” (lines 1-2) and “si vtriusque... aperiemus” (lines 6-7). The intervening clauses “non possumus... suspicemur” (lines 2-6) together form an interjection that should be put in parentheses. A new sentence begins with “Solicitudinem” in line 7. The punctuation should be corrected accordingly. Also correct the translation in CWE 25, p. 182.

**478, 10-11. vniuersum... complectitur** These words are not part of the incipit of Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 6, as the italics imply and the editor's note confirms, but continue and complete Erasmus's sentence. Accordingly they should not be italicized.

**478, 12. Theologus... Antistiti** Print these nouns in lower case. Cf. p. 285, line 5 above: "Petrus Tartaretus Henrico Bedae theologo S.D."; also cf. p. 281, lines 14-17; p. 286, lines 3-7 (with note at line 5).

**481, 8. Epist. fam.** Read "Epi. fa.", as in A; the reading in F is "epist. fa."

**481, 14. Fadio** This reading is an editorial anachronism, since it derives from a nineteenth-century emendation of Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 14. Read "Fabio", as in A F.

**482, 12-17. Rufum... meo** This passage is taken from a different letter and hence should occupy a paragraph of its own.

**483, 1. Eodem. Non dubito** Read "Eodem, *Non dubito*". Erasmus is referring to a different letter in the same book (Cic., *Fam.*, 13, 29) [Fa].

**483, 3. Fadum** Read "Fabium", as in A F. See note at p. 481, line 14 above.

**484, 13. Bibulus... tibi** Read: "*Bibulus. Item epi. Multos tibi*".

**485, 1. Commendatoriae... exemplum** Though printed in capital letters as a separate heading in A F, these words should be printed as an ordinary line of text since they in fact refer only to the example mentioned in line 2.

**485, 2. Tota... Tota** Read: "Tota epi. lib. I, *Petis vt fra. t.*", as in A F. The last two abbreviations stand for "fratris tui". (As for the second "Tota" in the lemma above, it was tacitly added by the ASD editor. It has no standing in A F.)

**485, 3 and 5. epistola** The reading in A F is "epi."

**485, 5. amicis tuis** Instead of this reading (F), the copy text A has "amicis tuo bis". The reading of A is most likely a misreading of Erasmus's manuscript, where the opening words of Plin., *Epist.*, 3, 2 ("Quod ipse amicis tuis obtulisse, si") must have been abbreviated to: "Quod ipse amicis tu. ob. si". For such abbreviations cf. p. 485, line 2 (with note); p. 544, line 22; p. 545, line 19; and p. 563, line 13.

**486, 11. epistola** The reading in A F is "epi."

**487, 18. Responsio** This is the reading in F. The copy text A reads "Respon."

**487, 21. Rursum epist.** Read "Rursum epi.", as in A F.

**494, 7-8. pontifice Maximo** Either capitalize both words or print both of them in lower case.

**495, 12. valetudinis** Read "valetudini", as in A F.

**496, 1. Omne... impertias** Only the words quoted exactly should be italicized.

**496, 3. sit** Read "si", as in A F [Sm].

**497, 9. quidque** Read "quicque", as in A F. Cf. the reading in *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae* (Louvain, 1519), as given in ASD I.3 (1972), p. 119, line 17: "quicquam".

**498, 19. imitari** Read "imitati", as in A F.

**500, 14. si loqui... applaudes** According to the critical apparatus, D offers two different readings at once.

**501, 1-2. Semper tibi proximus esto** These words, which are quoted from Cato, *Dist.*, 1, 40, should be printed in italics.

**505, 14. literis** The critical apparatus states that **F** reads "literulis". In fact the reading in **F** is "litterulis".

**506, 11. cuiusque** Read "cuiusquam", as in **A F**.

**507, 19. amor iin** Read "amori in", as in **A F**.

**507, 25. epist.** Read "epi.", as in **A F**. Make the same change in each instance at p. 508, lines 1 and 4; p. 513, line 8; p. 526, line 25; and p. 527, line 22 — p. 528, line 1.

**509, 25. feliciterque** This is the reading of **F**, replacing "fideliterque" in the copy text **A** and Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 13, 1.

**509, 30. arte** Emend this reading (**A F**) to "ante". Cf. **S**, where we find "antea". The translation in **CWE** (p. 203) should be changed from: "it is not easy to give specific rules about them" to: "it is not easy to offer precepts about them in advance."

**511, 1. verumetiam** Read "verum etiam", as in **A F**.

**511, 24-25. si amantem... dedignetur** Correct this obviously erroneous text (**F**) to: "sic amantem... dedignetur", as in **A**. Cf. **S**, where the reading is: "sic amantem... indignetur". The translation in **CWE** (p. 204), which reads "dignetur" with **BAS** and **LB**, should be corrected accordingly.

**512, 9. exercendi** This is the reading of **F**; the reading of **A** is "exercendi". For the latter form see the note at p. 429, line 15 above.

**514, 11. in ambitu** Correct this reading (**A F**) to "in ambitum", as in **S**.

**514, 17. quicquid** Read "quicque", as in **A F**. The reading in **S** is "quidque".

**515, 17. poetas historicos** Correct this reading (**A**) to "poetas et historicos", as in **F**. Cf. **S**, where we find: "poetas, historicos, etc."

**516, 5. effictionem** The critical apparatus reports that this reading comes from **A-C**, while **D-G BAS** have "effectionem". In fact, the reverse is true.

**518, 26. anidmaduerterat** Read "animaduerterat" [**Ma**].

**519, 4. quicquid** Read "quicque", as in **A F**. The reading in **S**, as corrected in the errata list, is "quidque".

**519, 15. adfuerat** This also happens to be the reading in **S**, which does not make it any less erroneous. Read "adsuerat", as in **A F**. Also correct the translation in **CWE** (p. 209) from: "there was no one who did not have some grievance" to: "there was not a soul whom he had not victimized in some way".

**519, 18. exercitatum** This is the reading of **S F**; the reading of **A** is "exercitatum". For the latter form see the note at p. 429, line 15 above.

**521, 4. Quonam** Read "Quo nam", as in **S A F**. (The critical apparatus is in error.) Cf. line 10 below, where we find "Quae nam".

**521, 11. Atqui** Correct this reading (**A F**) to "At quin", as in **S**.

**523, 10. Lib. V** This misprint in the early editions should be corrected to "Lib. XV".

**525, 24-526, 1. Lucius Guilielmi... Guilielmi... Lucius** Once it is realized that the present letter answers the one printed on p. 521 above (where "Lucius" writes to "Guilielmus"), it becomes obvious that the response must be written by "Guilielmus" and addressed to "Lucius". (The interrelation of the two letters is far easier to see in **S**, where only a brief paragraph separates the two letters.) Consequently we need to correct the reading quoted in the lemma above

(A F) to "Lucii Guilielmus... Guilielmus... Lucii". The confusion in A F was brought about by a printing error in S: "Sed dii prohibeant, quae tu scribis, vt Erasmi [*pro*: Erasmus] Guilielmi obliuisci vnquam possit. Vnquamne Guilielmus posset Erasmi non meminisse?" The translation in CWE (p. 214) should be corrected accordingly.

**526, 2. Ego ne** The critical apparatus reports that F reads "Ego". In fact the reading in F is the same as that in A.

**526, 12-13. memorem. Siue scripsero... scripsero, vale** Read "memorem, siue scripsero... scripsero. Vale", as in F.

**526, 22. quaerimur** Correct this reading (A) to "querimur", as in F.

**527, 20. simus** The critical apparatus reports that this is the reading of F. In fact, F agrees with A in reading "sumus".

**527, 23. exercitusque** This is the reading of F; the reading of A is "excercitusque". For the latter form cf. the note at p. 429, line 15 above.

**528, 7-9. Non... mihi sis** These two sentences should be placed in a paragraph of their own.

**528, 20. Ex libro** Read "Ex lib.", as in A F.

**Trib. pleb.** Read "trib. pleb."

**528, 26. epist** Read "epi.", as in A. Make the same correction in each instance at p. 529, lines 1-8 and at p. 530, line 22.

**529, 2. Lib. III** Since the reference is to *Polit.*, *Epist.*, 2, 12 (not "2, 10", as stated in ASD), we are dealing here with a misprint that should be corrected to "Lib. II".

**529, 3. circa medium** These words are not part of the quotation, but indicate where the passage may be found. Hence they should not be in italics.

**529, 5. Lib. V** This misprint in the early editions should be corrected to "Lib. VI".

**530, 8. pergi** Correct this reading (A) to "peregi", as in F [Sm].

**530, 22. tuarum** The editor has tacitly emended "tuam" (A F) to "tuarum", as in *Polit.*, *Epist.*, 2, 13.

**530, 23. epist... Epist.** The copy text A reads "epi.... epi."

**531, 7. responsio** This is the reading of F. The copy text A prints "respon."

**531, 11. quo** Correct this reading (A) to "quod", as in F.

**531, 13-14. Ego ne... putem.** Read "Egone... putem?" The translation in CWE (p. 218) should be corrected accordingly. Also put at least the first three paragraphs in this section ("Ad purgationem responsio mea") together in a single paragraph.

**531, 22. Cicero** This is the reading of F. In A the reading is "Cic."

**535, 12. Quando** Correct this reading (F) to "Quanto", as in A. Read: "Quanto aliam pro meis in te officiis abs te gratiam expectabam! Indignor...." For "Quanto aliam" cf. *Quint.*, *inst.*, 10, 1, 53: "quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum". The translation in CWE (p. 221) should be changed to: "For my services to you I expected quite different thanks! I am angry...."

**535, 18. Desperatis... medicinam** The sentence, taken from *Cic.*, *Att.*, 16, 15, 5, ought to be italicized or put in quotation marks.

**537, 5. non** Remove the negation (A), as in F. Otherwise the preceding "nec" will turn the clause into a strong positive.



**537, 16-17. solitam** Emend this reading (A F) to “solidam” [Sm]. The translation in CWE (p. 222) should be corrected to “a good portion of the blame”.

**538, 16. Ego** This is the reading of S A F. Emend it to “Ego quoque”, as indicated in the errata list of S.

**539, 14. patior**; Remove the semicolon, as in F and at p. 540, lines 14-15 below.

**539, 19. epistolis** The copy text A reads “epist.”

**541, 21. terrae motibus** Read “terraemotibus”, as in A F.

**542, 9. strennuus** The critical apparatus reports that F reads “strenuus”. In fact F also reads “strennuus”.

**542, 13. illud** Read “illud”.

**543, 3. nunciabo...** **Soror** Read “nunciabo: Postridie No. Mart. [Non. Mart. F] soror”.

**543, 13. Non.** Read “No.”, as in S A F.

**544, 14. M. Platorio** Restore “Emplatorio”, as in A F. This reading (along with “Emplaetorio” and “Empletorio”) was standard in manuscripts and early printed editions of Cic., *Fam.*, 1, 8, 1. It was first emended to “M. Plaetorio” by Paullus Manutius in the Cicero edition printed at Venice in 1540.

**544, 22. fuit ar.** Read “fuit Ar.” The abbreviation stands for “Arsacen”.

**545, 16. Lib. III** Correct this misprint in A to “Lib. II”. (F follows A, but uses an arabic numeral here.)

**546, 15. Delphino** Read “delphino”.

**546, 18. Lib. IX** Read “Lib. IIII”, as in A (cf. F, where the reading is “Lib. 4”). The reference is to *Polit.*, *Epist.*, 4, 8 [Fa].

**547, 5. μοῦσαι** Read “Μοῦσαι”.

**547, 11. Liberto** Read “liberto”. Cf. note at p. 478, line 12 above.

**547, 16. iam pridem** Read “iam pridem”, as in S A F.

**547, 21. Phrydia** Correct this reading (A) to “Phydia”, as in S, or to “Phidia”, as in F [Fa]. Erasmus takes the name from the ancient Greek sculptor and architectural planner Phidias.

**548, 14. fam.** Read “fa.”, as in A F.

**550, 3. pro merito** Correct this reading (A) to “promerito”, as in F.

**552, 6. me hercule** The reading in F is not “mehercle”, as reported in the critical apparatus, but “me hercle”.

**552, 15. istuc** This is the reading of F; for the form “istud” in the copy text A see Cic., *Fam.*, 11, 21, 1.

**553, 19. Ain’vero** Read “Ain’ vero”.

**554, 11. responsio** The reading in A is “respon.”

**555, 5. disertum** The reading of C cannot be “disertum” and “desertum”, as the critical apparatus claims. One of these readings must represent E, which is omitted here.

**557, 6. mihi charior** According to a suggestion in CWE 26, p. 554 (note 6 to p. 238) we should read “mihi vita charior”, as in the standard text of Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 28, 3. But to do so is tantamount to editorial anachronism, since “vita” is in fact a nineteenth-century conjecture.

**557, 11. Lib. XIV** Read “Lib. XIII”, as in A F.

**558, 10. quidquam** Read “quicquam”, as in A F. (The critical apparatus is in error.)

**558, 16. Quamobrem** Read “Quam ob rem”, as in A F.

**558, 18. quidquid** Read “quicquid”, as in A F.

**558, 18-19. menten** Read “mentem”.

**559, 14. ecquod** This is the reading of F. The reading of A, not reported in the critical apparatus, is “et quod”. The latter is not a misprint, but derives from the manuscripts of Cic., *Att.*, 3, 10, 2 as well as the editio princeps (Rome, 1470). The reading in F first appeared in the Cicero-edition published at Venice in 1470; it also occurs in the Paris edition of 1521-22 and the Basel edition of 1528.

**560, 1. Iacturam grauiſſimam** These words, which begin Plin., *Epist.*, 1, 12, 1, should be italicized.

**560, 14. decessit... decessit** This is the reading of F and Plin., *Epist.*, 5, 21, 3. The reading of A (not reported in the critical apparatus) is “discessit... discessit”.

**560, 16. Pertinet** Emend this reading (A F) to “Pertinent”, as in Plin., *Epist.*, 5, 21, 4. Cf. lines 15-16 above: “pertinent,... pertinuerunt...”.

**561, 1. Lamentatoriae** Read “Lamentatoria”, as in F.

**561, 8-9. His modis omnibus** Emend this reading (A F) to “Hic modis omnibus” [Sm]. Cf. p. 549, lines 27-28 above: “Hic beneficium quod accepimus erit modis omnibus amplificandum”. Accordingly, the translation in CWE (p. 241) should be corrected from: “By all of the following methods we shall magnify” to: “Here we shall magnify in every way”.

**563, 2. tum** Read “quum”, as in S A F.

**563, 6. optimum** Read “opimum”, as in A F.

**563, 16. vero** Read “vere”, as in A F and Cic., *Fam.*, 6, 11, 1.

**563, 21. mediusfidius** Read “medius fidius”, as in A F.

**564, 9. Lib. III** Read “Lib. IIII”, as in A. The reading in F is “Lib. 4”.

**565, 18. Maiorem** Read “maiores”, as in A F.

**566, 6. incolumen** Read “incolumem”, as in A F.

**566, 17-18. De Oratore... De risu** These titles are the only ones italicized in the present edition. For “De Oratore” read “De oratore”.

**567, 15. desiderio** Correct this reading (A) to “desiderium”, as in F and Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 11, 2.

**567, 18. Pici** This name represents the author of the letter that Erasmus is referring to. It should not be italicized.

**569, 9. opera** Read “opera nostra”, as in A F.

**570, 11. Politian.** The name does not occur at this point in A F. It seems to have made its way into the ASD text via the sidenote. The same goes for “Cicero” at p. 571, line 2 and p. 578, line 24; “Politianus” at p. 571, line 11, p. 576, line 25, and p. 578, line 28; “Plinius” at p. 577, line 2 and p. 578, line 26.

**570, 12. Lib. III ... magnum te** Erasmus is referring to *Epist.* 2, 8 [Fa] (not *Epist.* 3, 1, as stated in ASD). But unlike other instances (see notes at p. 523, line 10; p. 529, lines 2 and 5; p. 545, line 16; and p. 571, line 19), this is not a simple misprint in the early editions requiring editorial intervention, for the

reference “Eodem” in line 13 correctly points to a letter in Book 3. Erasmus’s error is quite understandable, however. He was misled by the running title in Poliziano’s *Omnia opera* (Venice, 1498), which at this point (sigs. c1<sup>v</sup>-c2<sup>r</sup>) reads “Liber Tertius” instead of the correct “Liber Secundus”.

**571, 5-6. Accedit ... optimis** This is the reading of **A** and the Aldine edition of Plin., *Epist.*, 9, 8 (Venice, 1508). **F** offers the standard reading “Accidit ... optime”. (For Erasmus’s use of Aldus’s edition see note at p. 357, line 25 above.)

**571, 12. secundis** Read “sequundis”, as in **A F**.

**571, 13. epist.** Read “epistola”, as in **A F**.

**571, 19. Lib. V** Since the letter that opens with the words “In calce epistolae cuiusdam ...” occurs at *Epist.* 6, 11 [**Fa**], we are dealing here with a simple misprint in **A** that should be corrected to “Lib. VI”. (**F** follows **A**, but uses an arabic numeral.) Also correct the translation in CWE 25 (p. 248) from “Book 5, the last letter” to “Book 6, the letter ‘At the end’.”

**572, 20-22. Est ... studia** These sentences are not part of the model passages for a reply to praise, but constitute a final editorial comment. Accordingly they should be placed in a separate paragraph. Do the same with the translation in CWE (p. 249); also remove the question mark after “to study” and put it after “being ridiculed”.

**573, 25. vterque** Correct this reading (**A**) to “vtorque”, as in **F**.

**prudenteriorum** Read “prudentiorem”, as in **A F**.

**575, 2. domesticis tuis** Read “domesticis, tuis”, as in **F**.

**575, 12. epist.** Read “epistola”, as in **A F**.

**576, 4. referunt** Correct this reading (**F**) to “referent”, as in **A** and Cic., *Fam.*, 12, 2, 3.

**576, 15-18. Sed ... consolentur** The critical apparatus offers the text of a marginal note in **E** (Paris, 1533), but misrepresent the wording as it appears in the two authorized editions. In **A** the sidenote reads: “Consolatio est. Non est suo loco, vitio scribae”; in **F** the wording is simply “Consolatio”.

**576, 15. plusquam** Read “plus quam”, as in **A F**.

**577, 23. pro tuo arbitratu** The preposition “pro” was tacitly — if unidiomatically — inserted by the editor. It has no standing in **A F**.

**578, 28. Ostendet plenum** The reference is to *Polit.*, *Epist.*, 1, 20, which is a “letter of discussion” but starts off with the words “Ostendit epistolam”. Jacques Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme* (Paris, 1981), vol. II, p. 1036, note 100 surmises that “epistolam” in Erasmus’s manuscript may have been abbreviated as “eplā”, which was then misread as an abbreviation for “plenum.” However that may be, it seems clear enough that Erasmus’s text should be emended to “Ostendit epistolam”.

**579, 1. Dictata illa tua** The reading of **E G** is omitted in the critical apparatus.

**579, 2. Politian.** The name occurs neither in the main text nor in the margin at this point in **A F** and should be removed.

**579, 4. epistola** This is the reading of **F**; the copy text **A** reads “epist.”

**579, 5. Lib. XII** A commentary note to this line in ASD insinuates that the reading in **A F** is “Lib. XI”. However, both editions have the correct reading “Lib. XII”.

## 2. A supplement to the critical apparatus

This section is intended to supplement the critical apparatus to Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* in ASD I.2, pp. 209-579, by providing the variant readings to: John Siberch's unauthorized edition of an early draft of the work (Cambridge, 1521 [S]); three early editions of *Declamatio de morte* (Basel, 1517 [α]; Louvain, 1518 [β]; and Basel, 1529 [δ]); and three early editions of Erasmus's *Encomium matrimonii* (Louvain, 1518 [β]; Basel, [September?] 1518 [γ]; and Basel, 1529 [δ]).

Wherever ASD I.2 omits variants in the two authorized editions of the work (A and F), I also supply those readings. For practical reasons I have excluded the variants to two brief sections originally published with editions of Erasmus's *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*: (a) the letter to Christian Northoff at pp. 492-96, for which see Allen, Ep. 56; and (b) the letter "Quis sit modus repetendae lectionis" at pp. 496-98, for which see ASD I.3 (1972), pp. 119-20. Likewise excluded are Erasmus's dedicatory letter to Robert Fisher in S (sig. A4<sup>v</sup>), which Allen edited as Ep. 71; and his letter to Henricus Glareanus prefacing *De morte* in α β δ, edited by Allen as Ep. 604. Regrettably I have also had to omit the marginalia; only those sidenotes in S that are quoted along with the main text will appear in the following apparatus. These marginalia are printed in italics and marked with an asterisk (\*).

The abbreviation *err.* refers to corrections given in the "Index erratorum" of S (sigs. A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>); the abbreviation *add.* indicates that the reading does not occur in a preceding version or edition (particularly S), but was added in the later one. Minor differences in orthography or obvious printing errors are not recorded. In transcribing the lemmata I presuppose a corrected text, as indicated in IJsewijn's and Tunberg's articles and in the preceding notes. Variants noted in the preceding part of this article are not normally repeated here.

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 205, 1-208, 7 | ERASMVS... M.D.XXII <i>add.</i> A F.                           |
| 209, 1-224, 3 | DESIDERIVS [D. A, Des. F] ERASMVS... sumunt <i>add.</i> A F.   |
| 213, 11       | satiet F: satiat A.  |
| 214, 13       | Laurentinum F: Laurentianum A.                                 |
| 220, 2-3      | iniquius sit F: iniquius est, sit A.                           |
| 223, 25       | crimine F: crimine missa A; fortunaque et A: fortunaque vel F. |
| 224, 4-227, 9 | PECVLIARIS... affectatio A F:                                  |

Cuiusmodi esse debeat epistolaris character et in ea  
quid fugiendum, quid sequendum.

*Fugienda affectatio*.\* Scenicus quidam verborum apparatus et affectata grandiloquentia, cum alibi vix ferri potest, tum ab epistolari familiaritate vehementer abhorret. Is enim debet esse epistolae character, tanque [*pro*: tanquam] cum amiculo in angulo susurres, non in theatro clames aut paulo etiam liberior. Multa enim epistolae committimus, quae coram pudet expromere. Quare scripturi eius, cui scribimus, oculos, vultum nobis representem [*praesentem err.*] fingemus eiusque ingenio accommodabimus omnia. Assurgimus tamen nonnunquam et in epistola, sed intra contentionem orationum. Persaepe autem ad verba quotidiana demittimur, at ita ut summa et mundities et elegantia sermonis adhibeatur. Vbi enim in tenui re versamur, ibi neque copia neque splendore orationis laus quaerenda est, sed acumine, proprietate, lepore, ioco, blanditiae [*blandicie err.*]. *Iocus et blandities epistolis familiares*.\* Familiares enim, ut ita dicam, sunt epistolae iocus et blanditiae [*blandicies err.*], eaque quoties apte licebit conueniet adhiberi. Nec minus amica breuitas est, nisi copiam res ipsa postulabit. Nam ampla in re breuem fieri tam turpe est quam in breui longum. Illic breuitas esse putanda est, ubi nihil redundat, nihil eximi potest. S.

- 227, 10-276, 14 EXERCITATIO... eruditus *add.* A F.  
 228, 10 ridere F: redire A.  
 229, 7 infelicitatem F: facilitatem A.  
 231, 4 Et A: At F.  
 232, 11 Briseidam A: Briseida F.  
 234, 14 Delphis A: Delphicis F.  
 238, 3 adhibebitur A: adhibetur F.  
 257, 6 meque A: neque F.  
 262, 18 facilitatem A: felicitatem F.  
 266, 7 et Plinio A: Plinio F.  
 270, 3 Considerauimus A: Consideramus F.  
 273, 13 sed A: planeque F.  
 276, 15-285, 24 DE SALVTATIONE... auspiciu A F: *Fugiendam esse salutationem verbosam et ambitiosam*.\* Haec [*sc.* breuitas] igitur cum in perpetua epistola tum in salutatione potissimum erit obseruanda. Quid enim indoctius, vel potius stultius istis, qui odiosa atque ambitiosa salutatione sex septemue versus, bonam epistolae partem, occupant, ut necesse sit lectorem iam deficere, antequam ad argumentum peruenerit? Iam vero quantum illic assentationum! Quot portenta verborum! Hunc solem, illum luciferum, alium lucernam ardentem, speculum, candelabrum, thuribulum, thesaurum, sacrarium appellamus, apicem, culmen, florem, gemmam, iubar, paradisu, et quid non? Quis vnquam Colax aut Gnato ausus est ista proferre? Non pudet homines Christianos religiosos huius ambitionis?

- Ipsi in ethnicis gloriae cupiditatem reprehendimus, cum aures nostrae pueriles assentationes ferre possint? S.
- 277, 12 τῷ A: τῷ F.
- 286, 1-287, 14 SIMPLICIS... caeteris A F: *Cuiusmodi debeat esse salutatio*. \* Salutatio igitur indicium personarum habere debet, non laudem. Ad id adhibetur, vt constet, ad quem et a quo sit epistola scripta. Nomen scribentis praefendum, hoc pacto: 'Robertus N. Erasmo suo S. D.' Hunc salutandi morem apud Ciceronem et Plinium Iuniorem et vetustissimos quosque perpetuo observatum reperies. Nominibus officii aut professionis appellationem subiicere licebit, vt: 'M. Cicero proconsul C. Caesari imperatori S. D.'; 'Henricus antistes Cameracensis Philippo Burgundiorum duci S. P. D.'; 'Iacobus Battus publicus scriba asecretis [*pro: a secretis*] Erasmo theologo S. D.' S.
- 286, 13 paricidios A: paricidii F.
- 287, 15-289, 15 NOVAE... imparties *add.* A F.
- 289, 16-295, 13 DE EPITHETIS... ineptis A F: *Quomodo sint transferenda epitheta*. \* Porro epithetis illis non in salutationibus, sed in ipsa epistola vtemur, idque vocandi casu hoc modo:
- Ecclesiasticorum epitheta  
'Beatissime', 'Summe Pontifex'. 'Amplissime Pater'. 'Sanctissime Praesul'. 'Antistitum maxime', 'reuerende', 'venerande', 'obseruande', 'humanissime', 'benignissime'.
- Principum laicorum epitheta  
'Regum inuictissime', 'fortunatissime', 'clementissime'. 'Triumphalis imperator', 'felicissime', 'potentissime'. 'Ducum illustrissime', 'fortissime', 'excellentissime'. 'Princeps generosissime', 'splendidissime', 'munificentissime', 'strenuissime', 'magnanime'.
- Magistratuum epitheta  
'Senator grauissime', 'continentissime'. 'Consul ornatisime', 'iustissime'. 'Iudex incorruptissime', 'optime'. 'Praetor integerrime', 'circumspectissime'. 'Vir clarissime'.
- Studiosorum epitheta  
'Theologorum doctissime'. 'Rhetor facundissime', 'disertissime'. 'Poeta diuine'. 'Iurisperitorum consultissime'. 'Dialecticorum acutissime'.
- Cognatorum et affinium  
'Mater pientissima'. 'Vxor iucundissima'. 'Pater obseruandissime'. 'Marite mi'. 'Frater charissime'. Affinis: 'Soror iucundissima'. 'Socer optime'. 'Fili suauissime'. 'Gener iucundissime'. 'Filia dulcissima'. 'Optime patruē'.

## Priuatorum epitheta

'Optime vir'. 'Vir innocentissime', 'integerrime', 'amicissime', 'humanissime'. 'Senex', 'adolescens prudentissime', 'ingeniosissime', 'generosissime'. 'Mulier optima', 'castissima', 'integerrima', 'primaria', 'nobilissima', 'patritia'.

*Vbi epithetis vtendum.\** Neque his temere conueniet vti, sed vbi ad rei commoditatem facere videbuntur. Veluti si principis fortiter gesta laudabimus, 'fortissimum' appellabimus; si pro beneficiis gratias agemus, 'munificentissimum', 'liberalissimum', 'benignissimum' nominabimus, et ita de caeteris.

*Appendix.\** Quos familiarius vero amamus, eorum nomine [nomen *err.*] cum blandimento subinde repetemus, vt: 'mi Cicero', 'mea Tulliola', 'mi frater', 'mea Katharina'.

*De noua ratione salutandi.\** Vbi autem salutatio praemissa vtriusque nomen complectitur, superuacaneum fuerit in calce epistolae subiicere 'Erasmus tuus' et eiusmodi. Verum vbi vel omittitur salutatio vel hoc modo ponitur, 'Salue, praeceptor optime', 'salue, frater iucundissime', 'salue, mea lux', 'salua sit tua paternitas', 'humanitas', et caetera id genus, tum epistolae est nomen nostrum subscribendum, hoc pacto: 'Robertus Piscator ex animo tuus', 'haud fecte tuus'; 'Iacobus Battus quantus est tuus', 'tui amantissimus', 'tibi deditissimus', 'tuae paternitati deuinctissimus', 'proprius', 'peculiaris', 'addictissimus', 'ad omnia paratissimus'. Quod vt citra barbariem fieri potest, ita praeter veterum consuetudinem fieri necesse est.

*Confutatio.\** 'At offendemus, si sic salutemus.' [Cf. *ASD* I.2, p. 285, l. 4]. At ego nondum arbitror ita desperandos animos hominum, quin quos imperiti et assentatores corrumpere potuerunt, doctissimorum hominum et autoritas et consuetudo queat restituere. Quod si quid innouare placebit, tolerabitur nouitas, modo barbaries absit et parasitica illa assentatio, hoc modo: 'Consultissimo viro Petro Asinio iuris pontificii professori Paulus Ardelius S. D.'

## De praefatione epistolari

Franciscum Nigrum, scriptorem audacem potius quam accuratum, praecepisse video vt in singulis epistolis praeludio vtemur [vteremur *err.*]. Equidem vt interdum praefari probo, ita semper id facere et breuitati officit et odiosum est. Quod si res flagitabit, id quam breuissime fieri poterit, conueniet et ita vt non prohemium, sed rem ipsam dicere videamur. S.

295, 14-300, 15  
301, 1-309, 9

QVOMODO... restitui *add.* A F.  
DE ORDINE... Decemb. A F:

### Diuisio prima epistolarum

Epistolarum aliae sunt mixtae, aliae simplici argumento. Mixtae cum multae Ciceronis tum illa ad Quintum fratrem exemplum esse potest, cuius initium est: *Ad quartum Nonas Iunias, quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas literas datas Placentiae* [2, 14].

*Quis ordo in epistola mixta. A tempore.\** In hoc genere aut quicquid in mentem veniet effundemus aut a tempore rerum ordinem sumemus aut ipsi ordinem fingemus. Si pluribus epistolis vna respondebimus, singulis ordine respondebimus et transitionibus huiusmodi vtemur: 'Habes de primis literis, nunc de alteris audi'; ' respondi secundis literis, nunc de proximis accipe.'

*De fingendo ordine.\** In diuersis argumentis ordinem ipsi fingemus, si primum quae volumus significabimus. Deinde ad illius scripta veniemus, hac quidem transitione: 'Habes quae hic gerantur; nunc ordine tuis literis respondebimus', hoc quidem initio: 'Multa erant tuis in literis, quae me non mediocriter delectarunt, nonnulla minus placuerunt', 'illud gaudeo', 'hoc iucundum fuit', 'illud doleo', et his modis. Aut primum publicis, deinde priuatis de rebus scribimus, prius quae ad nos, deinde quae ad ipsum spectant. Cicero: 'Habes forensia, nunc domesticas res accipe'; 'omnibus fere de rebus habes, vnum illud addam.'

### Exemplum epistolae mixtae seu non simplicis argumenti

*Pars numeratoria de suis rebus.\** 'Salve, Roberte, quantum vterque volumus. Ad iii. Idus No. Basilea soluimus. Nauigatione fausta vsque sumus vsi. In itinere tuorum praetermisi neminem cui nomine tuo non dixerim salutem diligenter. In patria omnes et tuos et meos (quid enim meum quod non idem tuum?) incolumes offendi. Mandatorum tuorum a me praeteritum est nihil.

*De eius [pro: De rebus eius] cui scribit.\** 'Mater tui desyderio vehementer angitur, quam crebris literis leuare tuae fuerit pietatis. Sorori quod nouo partu sit aucta debes gratulari. Gener rem domesticam strenue administrat. Domus tua edificatur diligenter.

'De tuis rebus habes, de meis vicissim accipe. Beneficium summo omnium consensu obtinui. Delectat locus: nihil amenius nihilque salubrius. Hic Academiam plane quandam instituere consilium est. Sed o vtinam te reducem haberemus, vt vna philosophemur! Tua apud regem commendatio plurimum mihi et ornamenti et emolumenti attulit.

*Transitio de propriis rebus.\** 'De priuatis vtriusque rebus hactenus. De publicis nihil habeo quod scribam, nisi omnia ad summam pacem concordiamque spectare. Seditio coorta summa prudentia principum sine cede et sanguine [Juv., 10,



112] sopita est; pax a Philippo Burgundionum duce per legatum antistitem petita haud grauate concessa est; Scoti sub iugum missi. Habes de patriae publico statu.

*Transitio de publicis rebus.\** 'Nunc ad tuam epistolam venio. De recreata salute tantum tibi gratulor, quantum te amo. Consilium tuum de adeunda Italia vehementer probo. Quod vt bene tibi vertat precor. Quod Pomponius te insalutatum reliquerit, et tuo et illius nomine doleo. Sed recreor quod Tironem receperis.

*Alia transitio.\** 'Quod de nouis rumoribus scribis, iam ego istud ex aliis audiueram. De maternis negotiis tu memorem mones, ita enim mihi curae sunt, vt nec tibi quidem ipsi solitudine diligentiaque concedam. Caue putes te a patria abesse, dum ego adero. Quod res amissas recuperaris gaudeo. Tam odiose tibi ab isto nebulone negotium exhiberi non graviter ferre non possum.

*Purgatoria pars.\** 'De scribendi cessatione me sine culpa accusari gaudeo. Hic primus est oblatas, cui literas committerem.

*Pars iocosa.\** 'Itane agis? Tu amicitias [diuitias *err.*] meas contemnitis? Cresum appellas. Ego vero [Varo *err.*] efficiam, vt huic tenuitati nostrae tu vero nomine Cresus inuideas. Sed fuit mihi tuus iocus vehementer iucundus.

'Quod me vero vehementer charum esse scribis, voluptatem mihi nuntias. Quod Erasmus de me amantissime et sentit et loquitur, nihil miror. Quid enim noui fecit? Quod ad me non scripserit, excusationem libens accipio. Illud in calce tuarum literarum de celeri reditu tuo me super omnia delectauit.

'Respondi fere omnibus epistolae tuae partibus. Fac quam saepissime ad me scribas. Id [Tu *err.*], quod facis, magno animo in literas incumbe. Incredibilis est omnium de te expectatio. Quam ne fallas curabis. Italorum ingenia nosti: sis cautus [scis cautius agendum *err.*], memineris te inter venena venire [vivere *err.*]. Valitudinem tuam cura diligenter.

Carliolis, pridie Calendas Decembres.' S.

significabimus A: significamus F.

301, 14  
309, 10-315, 6

EPISTOLARVM... praecipimus A F:

Quot sint epistolarum genera, quae simplici sint argumento. Rhetorum quidem praeceptio, quoniam ad forensia negotia accommodatur [*sic*], recte materiam orationis in tria genera distribuit: iudiciale, deliberatiuum, demonstratiuum. Atque ex his tribus fontibus, quum omnia epistolarum argumenta emanent, multo tamen latius liberaliusque vagantur. Quid enim est quod literis non committimus? In his stomachamur, blandimur, iurgamur, consolamur, nugamur, iocamur, quaerimur [*pro*: querimur], ridemus, lachrimamur, amamus, odimus, conuiuiamur, somniamus, et quid non? Hiis ebrii,

sobrii nostras cogitationes committimus [*sic*]. Quare eas quidem epistolarum species, quae sub illis tribus generibus contineri videbuntur, eodem referemus; reliquas separatim ab illis annumerabimus. Et quoniam deliberatiui generis vsus quam latissime patet, exordium ab eo sumemus. Cuius species, et quae ad ipsum fere pertinere videntur, sunt: exhortatio, dehortatio, suasio, dissuasio, consolatio, petitio, commendatio, monitio, amatoria. Ad demonstratiuum genus pertinent descriptiones personarum, vrbium, agrorum, regionum, animantium, edificiorum, temporum, montium, vt Aethnae et huiusmodi. Ad iudiciale genus haec referuntur: criminatio, defensio, expostulatio, purgatio, exprobatio [*pro*: exprobratio], inuectiua, deprecatio. Extā [*pro*: Extra] vero haec tria rhetorum genera sunt et epistolarum species: nuntiatio, commissio aut mandatio, narratio, collaudatio, gratiarum actio, querela, lamentatio, gratulatio, iocus. [Nunc quid in vnoquoque genere fieri conueniat, ordine consyderemus. *add. err.*] S.

312, 13 doctrinalem A: doctrinalemque F.  
315, 7-316, 7 QUID... pertractandum A F:

De exhortatoria et quid intersit inter suasionem et exhortationem.

Exhortandi genus a suasorio haud multo abest discrimine, abest tamen. Nam suademus vt velit, exhortamur vt audeat. Suademus probantes, exhortamur incitantes. Suadendo vt nobiscum sentiant efficimus; exhortando animum addimus. Suasio rationibus, exhortatio stimulis vtitur. Suademus aliter ac nos sentimus sentientibus. Exhortamur timidos, ignauos, cessantes; et vt semel finiam, non exhortamur nisi iam persuasos. Quare fere vsu venit, vt et suasio exhortationem et exhortatio suasionem habeat admixtam, quanquam nos docendi gratia separauimus. *Cicero Trebonio [Fam., 15, 21]. S.*

316, 8-324, 4 DE EXORDIO... videantur *add.* A F.

324, 5-16 DE EXHORTATORIA... obsecratione A F: *Quibus partibus constet exhortatio.\** In excitando autem et acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. His autem potissimum partibus constabit exhortatio: laude, spe, metu, exemplis, expectatione, obsecratione. S.

324, 17-325, 14 A laude... admonebimus A F: *A laude.\** A laude tractabitur exhortatio, si hactenus ab eo gesta ab omnibus vehementer praedicari dicemus; si vt re feliciter ac strenue coepta pari aut maiori etiam animi magnitudine pergat hortamur; si genus, si nobilitatem, si dignitatem, si splendorem, si famam, si fortunas extollemus ac ne quid his indignum admittat admonebimus. Meminerit eruditionis suae, sapientiae, virtutis, aetatis, veterum bene gestorum, vt studeat suorum

- maiorum similis existere, imo vtrosque exuperet neu quid illis indignum admittat. S.
- 325, 14-30 Itaque... effugiamus *add.* A F.
- 326, 1-19 A spe... componere A F: A *spe metuque*.<sup>\*</sup> Spe metuque accendemus, si decus, si gloriam, si immortalitatem, si emolumentum, si voluptatem proponemus, si diuersa ex parte obscuritatem, ignominiam, reprehensionem, damnum, dolorem ostendemus, si quum haec vehementer exaggerauerimus, tum labores, quibus ista vel comparari vel euitari queant, extenuabimus. S.
- 326, 20-328, 25 Ab amore... putet *add.* A F.
- 327, 5-6 admonebimus A: admonebimus F.
- 328, 26-329, 19 Ab expectatione... explodi A F: Ab *expectatione amicorum*.<sup>\*</sup> Nec mediocrem sollicitudinem iniiciemus, si quanta sit omnium tum amicorum tum principum de eo vel publica vel priuata expectatio, nominatim eorum, quorum ille iudicium et auctoritatem plurimi facere videbitur (eam expectationem probabilem reddemus a genere, ab indole, ab educatione, a praeceptoribus, a loco, ab anteactis rebus, et his similibus circumstantiis), quanta sit beniuolentium futura gratulatio, si rem bene gesserit, ostendemus.
- Ab *expectatione maliuolorum*.<sup>\*</sup> Deinde aemulorum et inimicorum expectationem atrociter exaggerare studebimus. Horum omnium quae laetitia, quae insultatio, qui risus, quae maledicta, quae scommata [sint expectanda describimus *add. err.*]. Et vt illic profuerit, nominatim aliquot proferre, quorum iudicio et auctoritate plurimum eum commoueri credimus, ita hic iuuabit appellare eos, quos nouimus illi esse quam maxime inuisos et infestos. Acrius interdum odio quam amore extimulatur animus humanus. S (*post partem* 'Quomodo exemplorum copia comparatur'; vide *infra* ad p. 336, l. 13 — p. 340, l. 4).
- 329, 20-27 Ab exemplis... communis sit A F: De *exemplis in exhortando*.<sup>\*</sup> Porro nulla re vehementius quam eorum, quos miramur, exemplis ad virtutem accendimur. Quare haec conueniet diligenter adhibere et quidem vetusta illustriaque, potissimum si quos habuit suae patriae, suae urbis, sui ordinis, suae professionis, sui generis celebres viros, eorum dicta ac facta in oculos ponemus; parentum autem familiaria ac propria quaedam, quae gesserint aut dixerint, conducet repetere, quibus agnitis necesse est filiorum animos vehementer commoueri. S.
- 330, 1-332, 20 EXEMPLA... altera A F: *Tractatio exemplorum*.<sup>\*</sup> Exemplis vero ita vtemur, vt eos, quos adducimus, cum magnifica aliqua laude proferamus, vt: 'Socrates, ille philosophorum [philosophiae *err.*] parens', 'Plato, philosophorum grauisimus', 'Alcibiades, omnium quos Graecia vidit imperatorum

- longe clarissimus', 'Scipio, non sine causa a multis laudatus', et ita de aliis. Haec autem debent ei rei, ad quam hortamur, esse quam accommodata. Deinde rem ipsam apposite et cum amplificatione quadam exponemus. Exemplo collationem subiiciemus, in qua conueniet argumentis illis rhetoricis vti, quae vocantur 'a pari', 'ab impari'. Sumitur autem collatio a sexu, ab aetate, a patria, a praemiis, aut ab alia circumstantia, hoc modo: *A sexu*. \* 'Foemina potuit vitam contemnere, et tu vir mortem honestissimam times?' *Ab aetate*. \* 'Ille iuuenis hoc ausus, tu iam grandis natu non audebis?' *A patria*. \* 'Si homo et barbarus et ethnicus hoc intellexit, id [quid te *err.*] et Romanum et Christianum par [facere par *err.*] est?' *A professione*. \* 'Ille prophanus, tu sacris iniciatus.' 'Ille nullis praemiis inuitatus, tibi omnia summa proponuntur.' S.
- 333, 1-336, 13 DE VARIETATE... aperiemus A F: *De ordine et varietate exemplorum*. \* Vt autem exemplorum varietas et ordo quidam habeatur, antiquissima quaeque primo loco statuentur. Atque a Graecis quidem ad Romana, a Romanis ad barbara, a barbaris ad Hebraica, ab Hebraicis ad Christiana, a veteribus ad recentia, a recentibus ad ea, quae nostra memoria sunt gesta, veniemus; praeterea ab externis ad nostratia, a nostratibus ad domestica descendemus. Fabulas quoque inter vetera conueniet adhibere, vt si res gestas cum laude poetae proponemus aut certe si quid doctissimi eiusmodi fabulis voluerint aperiemus. S.
- 336, 13-340, 4 hoc pacto... oratio A F: *Quomodo exemplorum copia comparatur*. \* Ad comparandam denique exemplorum copiam cum plurimarum historiarum lectio tum multarum rerum vsus vehementer conducit. Sed quo simus ad quamuis materiam instructiores, oportet de quoque vitio, de quaque virtute magnam vim factorum et dictorum comparare idque ex omni genere historiarum, annalium omnium gentium, quae tanquam in statione collocata quoties vocentur adsint ad manum. Qua in re et ordo quem modo ostendi et Valerii Maximi et apophthegmatum Plutarchi diligens lectio studium nostrum vehementer iuuabit. Et de exemplorum vsu hoc eo diligentius admonuimus, quod non in hoc modo genere, sed et in omnibus fere generibus frequenter incidit. S (*ante partes 'Ab expectatione amicorum' et 'Ab expectatione maliuolorum'*; vide supra ad p. 328, l. 26 — p. 329, l. 19).
- 340, 5-22 DE OBTESTATIONE... audeat A F: *De obsecratione*. \* Obsecratione demum exhortationem concludere licebit, quae tanquam rhetorici epilogi fungatur officio. Obtestabimur per generis sui nobilitatem, per maiorum imagines, per gloriam bene gestis partam, per indolem egregiam, per sapientiae et

- ingenii laudem, per amicorum vota, per inuidorum odia, vt quae se digna sint maximo animo curet. S.
- 341, 1-347, 21 DE LENIENDA... componuntur *add.* A F.
- 342, 8 si significantes A: significantes F.
- 348, 1-349, 10 DE FIGVRIS... exemplum A F: Conueniet interim exhortationibus vim quandam et acrimoniam admiscere. Membra et articulos frequenter adhibemus, praeterea repetitiones, comparia, contentiones, et similes exhortationes [exornationes *err.*], quae videbuntur acrimoniam quandam habere. Cuius generis cum plurima e Ciceronis aliorumque exemplis, tum e Titi Liuii contionibus et orationibus, quibus apud hunc authorem imperatores commissuri suos milites adhortantur, colligere licebit.
- Nos, vt quae praecepimus tanquam digito ostendamus, vnicum exemplum subiiciemus. S.
- 349, 13 abs A F: a S.
- 349, 18 currentem A F: te currentem S.
- 349, 19 absoluere *add.* A F.
- 349, 22-24 abes... difficultatis A F: desyderatur S.
- 349, 25 acceperis A F: ceperis S.
- 349, 26 nihil... dignum A F: tamen forti viro non indignum S.
- 349, 28 inuidentiam A F: inuidentia S.
- 350, 6 fabulam *add.* A F.
- 350, 10 in posterum A F: imposterum S.
- 350, 14 tibi *add.* A F.
- 350, 18 tamen diuinitus A F: diuinitus omnino S.
- 350, 19-22 sunt... Vlysem A F: puto. Nam quo alio consilio Homerus, poeta diuinus, Vlissem S.
- 350, 22 simulacrum A F: exemplar S.
- 350, 23-24 viam... posteros A F: ad immortalitatem viam S.
- 351, 1 diis manibus A F: demonibus S.
- 351, 5-7 Quid... commemorantur *add.* A F.
- 351, 10 sine... dissimilis A F: non sine... similis S.
- 351, 14 adulescens *add.* A F.
- 351, 16 vt *add.* A F.
- 352, 10 potius *add.* A F.
- 352, 13 etiam quotquot sunt *add.* A F.
- 352, 15 tantum *add.* A F.
- 352, 18 Trebonii A F: Nebulonii S; iudicio A F: iudicii S.
- 352, 22-23 obmutescent A F: mutescunt S.
- 352, 23-24 An... celsitudo *add.* A F.
- 352, 24 commodiore A F: commodiori S.
- 352, 25 contabescat A F: tabescat S.
- 352, 27 delegit A F: elegit S.
- 353, 2 vnica... gentis *add.* A F.
- 353, 6 hactenus *add.* A F.

- 353, 10 DE... DEHORTATORIO A F: De dehortatorio genere S.  
 353, 14 rei turpitudinem *add.* A F.  
 353, 16 aliaque *add.* A F.  
 353, 18-19 subministrabimus A F: ministrabimus S.  
 354, 15-365, 19 Simul... applaudit *add.* A F.  
 366, 1 cohortationi A F: cohortationem S.  
 366, 1-3 Complectitur... consolatur *add.* A F.  
 366, 13 inciderit A F: incidit S.  
 367, 6 fit A F: sit S.  
 368, 6 aliquid F: aliquod S A.  
 368, 8 deorum S (*in erratis*) A F: deo S (*in textu*).  
 368, 14 mouet A F: monet S.  
 369, 3 commune et A F: communes S.  
 369, 19 retrahere A F: trahere S.  
 369, 20 et... mutuanda *add.* A F.  
 369, 24 conseruatione A F: conuersatione S.  
 369, 26 forma A F: fortunae S.  
 370, 1-3 docilitas... temperantia, ac A F: eruditio, acumen, et S.  
 370, 4-12 Horum... vtilitatem *add.* A F.  
 370, 15 vtrumuis A F: vtrumuis datorum S.  
 371, 3 Gabinium *add.* A F.  
 371, 6 quum A F: quoniam S.  
 371, 7 possim A F: possum S.  
 371, 14 reddo A F: reddam S; persuasi S F: non persuasi A.  
 371, 19 aestimet A F: existimet S.  
 372, 15 te vacuum... hunc A F: vacuum... te hunc S.  
 372, 16 vi deiecisse A F: vide iecisse S (*in textu*), vi eiecisse S (*in erratis*).  
 372, 17 obuenire A F: venire S.  
 372, 19 deieceris A F: eieceris S.  
 372, 23 enumeratione A F: enumerando S.  
 373, 1 aliquid A F: nihil S (*in textu*), aliud S (*in erratis*).  
 373, 3 Item *add.* A F.  
 373, 4 est *add.* A F.  
 373, 8-11 Sunt... praeditos A F: Holandus est, igitur ebriosus. At Erasmo nihil frugalius S.  
 373, 15-16 subiicimus... ostendimus A F: subiiciemus... ostendemus S.  
 373, 18 a suis A F: omnibus suis S.  
 374, 3 colligimus A F: concludimus S.  
 373, 18-19 exhaeredatus S F: exhaereditatus A.  
 374, 4 tantum *add.* A F.  
 374, 8 aliquid A F: aliquod S.  
 Post 374, 8 in S: *De submissione*.\* Submissio est argumentatio, in qua nosmetipsi identidem petimus rationem, quare quidque dicamus. Exemplum: 'Veteres illi magnam philosophiae operam dare

voluerunt. Quare sic? Quia intellexerunt liberales artes summe omnium appetendas esse. Cur ita? Quum [*pro*: Quoniam] per eas efficitur, quanto natura hominis reliquis animantibus antecellit, tanto nos indoctis hominibus antecellamus. Cur id? Quia ingenium nostrum, nisi arte doctrinaque excolatur, rude ac omnino suipsius dissimile est. Quare sui dissimile? Quoniam quum eruditus sis, ingenii natura acrior [multo acutior *err.*] est quam esset, si non disciplinis excoleretur. Vnde hoc? Quia principia nobis natura quasi semina quaedam imposuit, quae nisi studio germinare feceris, parum profuerit ingenii bonitas. Mirum sic naturam voluisse, recte factum, inquam. Quam ob rem? Quoniam voluit nos natura non sine labore, vt caeteras beluas, sed nostro studio perfici.' Huius argumentationis exempla meliora in exornationibus Ciceronis inuenies.

- 374, 11 a me A F: e me S; occisum non S F: non occisum non A.  
 374, 12 eo tempore S (*in erratis*) A F: eo tempore etc. Si eo tempore S (*in textu*).  
 374, 19 nobis A F: vobis S.  
 374, 22 veniant S (*in erratis*) A F: venant S (*in textu*).  
 374, 23 antecellit A F: antecedit S.  
 375, 2 etiam S (*in erratis*) A F: est S (*in textu*).  
 375, 10 culpa A F: menda S.  
 375, 16 officiorum A F: officii S.  
 375, 21 commodem A F: commodarem S.  
 375, 23 supersit A F: superest S.  
 375, 24 postulare A F: praestari postulare S.  
 375, 25 quam... appellant *add.* A F.  
 376, 4 expellit A F: expellat S.  
 376, 9-10 tanto magis A F: magis S (*in textu*), eo magis S (*in erratis*).  
 376, 10 possumus A F: possumus S.  
 376, 14 variis A F: si variis S.  
 376, 20 videtur... assequi A F: eum hominem ex ea re assequi videtur S.  
 377, 9 aut A F: vel S.  
 377, 15 nunc ne S A: nunc F.  
 377, 19 videret A F: posse videbat S.  
 378, 3-4 et capitalis... securitas A F: sibiue capitalis inimici nulla suspitione, nullo timore huc aut illuc fluctuantis S.  
 378, 4 fortissimum virum A F: fortissimi viri S.  
 378, 5-6 Non... improbius A F: Quis hoc non credat, praesertim cum et cognoscat Vlissem vnum omnium audacissimum simulque iniquissimum? S.  
 378, 7 prudentiae A F: pudicitiae S.  
 378, 8 confisus A F: configere S (*in textu*): suis confisus S (*in erratis*); sperauerit A F: sperauit S.

- 378, 10 hominem A F: omnium S.  
 378, 19 licuit A F: poterat S.  
 378, 20 is ei se A F: ei S.  
 378, 23 sicui... Trebonii A F: si obscurum cuiquam videatur, Erasmi S.  
 379, 2 eum A F: enim S.  
 379, 3 ipsum A F: se S.  
 379, 7 demerere A: demereri S F.  
 379, 13 sarciri A F: restaurari S.  
 379, 15 Fama S F: Famae A.  
 379, 16 superest A F: superiuit S.  
 379, 21 ne A F: nec S; putarent A F: putarunt S.  
 380, 5 qua nihil habet A F: nihil hac habeat S.  
 381, 14 compellantur A F: impellantur S.  
 381, 24-382, 1 infectae A F: confectae S.  
 382, 1 etiam bonos S (*in erratis*) A F: etiam S (*in textu*).  
 382, 5 altius A F: alius S.  
 383, 2 opposita S A: apposita F.  
 384, 6-7 Numidicus... Candidus A F: Numidicus, Pompeius Atticus,  
 Petrus Candidus, Vigilantius Niger S.  
 384, 8 leuis... bellaces A F: leuis, Gallus superbus, Athenienses  
 studiosi, Romani bellaces, Brabanti inepti, Hollandi simplices,  
 Phrysones bibaces, Angli ostentatores, et ita de caeteris S.  
 384, 13-14 antiphrasim S A: antiphrasin F.  
 385, 13 abdicatus S (*in erratis*) A F: educatus S (*in textu*).  
 386, 16 importunus S (*in textu*) A F: inoportunus S (*in erratis*).  
 387, 17 iis A F: hiis S.  
 388, 2 ad S A: ob F.  
 388, 8 quicquam S (*in textu*) A F: nihil S (*in erratis*).  
 388, 11 Scipioni A F: Scipionem S.  
 389, 4 est A F: es S.  
 389, 6 muniri S (*in erratis*) A F: inueniri S (*in textu*).  
 389, 7 confirmandas S (*in textu*) A F: confirmationes S (*in erratis*).  
 389, 16 approbatur A F: approbatus S.  
 390, 11 traderem A F: traderent S.  
 390, 18 feram S A: ferum F.  
 391, 2 minori S (*in erratis*) F: om. S (*in textu*), minore A.  
 391, 3 casu S (*in erratis*) A F: om. S (*in textu*).  
 391, 11 poeticae A F: poesi S.  
 391, 14 ne A F: nec S.  
 392, 4 ne A F: nec S.  
 392, 12 ne A F: nec S.  
 392, 14 excluditur A F: excludatur S.  
 392, 21 rubro A F: rubeo S.  
 394, 10 vtile A F: inutile S.  
 395, 3 auarus A F: auarus. Si Gallus, igitur superbus S.



- 395, 9 tum maxime A F: tum maximo S.  
 395, 15 optimum A F: optimi S.  
 395, 24 mihi hic A F: hic mihi S.  
 396, 11 Simile S (*in textu*) A F: Simile, dissimile, et impar S (*in erratis*).  
 396, 13 quoniam A F: quonam S.  
 396, 14 item A F: ita S.  
 397, 11 ab... expellemus A F: ex... pellemus S.  
 398, 3 appellem F: appellam S A.  
 398, 10 ruber A F: rubeus S.  
 399, 9 satis, iam F: iam satis S A; ad partes... redeamus *add.* A F.  
 399, 12 Nemo A F: Nunc nemo S.  
 399, 14 foret A F: esset S.  
 400, 6 sententiaeque A F: sententiae S.  
 400, 11 intermiscibimus A F: intermiscueamus S.  
 400, 14 EXEMPLVM EPISTOLAE [Epistole A, Epist. F] SVASORIAE A F: Declamatio in genere suasorio de laude matrimonii Erasmi Rot. β, Matrimonii encomium, Des. Erasmi Roterodami declamatio, iuueni quondam lusa γ, *deest* S, Matrimonii encomium δ.  
 401, 12 sterilitati β γ S A δ: sterili F.  
 401, 13 redisse β γ A δ F: rediisse S.  
 401, 22 meam *add.* A δ F.  
 402, 1 longe β S A δ F: longum γ.  
 402, 7 instituit, adiunxit β γ A δ F: instituit S.  
 402, 8-9 Tam... haeretici *add.* A δ F.  
 402, 12 Quid β γ S δ F: Quod A.  
 402, 14 ne A δ F: nec β γ S.  
 403, 6 aliud sibi vult *add.* A δ F.  
 403, 11-13 Deseritur... dirimit *add.* A δ F.  
 403, 13 *Post* dirimit *add.* δ F: In his modo dirimitur, qui coniugium repetunt. Quam diu perseuerat coniugalī affectus, non videtur direptum matrimonium  
 404, 10 honestauit A δ F: cohonestauit β γ S.  
 404, 14 in eo β γ A δ F: eo S.  
 404, 15-405, 1 quae pro... aemulemur *add.* A δ F.  
 405, 7 quod β γ A δ F: atque S.  
 406, 4 praedicatur... quidem β γ S A: praedicatur apud Paulum apostolum [apostolum Paulum F]. Coelibatus hic ne nominatur quidem nec excusatur [nec excusatur quidem F], nisi pensatione [compensatione F] maioris boni. Alioqui si quis naturae legem secutus det operam liberis, praefendus est illi, qui perseueret [perseuerat F] in coelibatu non ob aliud, nisi vt sibi liberius viuatur. Vere continentes ac virgines laudatas legimus, coelibatus ex se nullam habet laudem δ F.

- 406, 7 *Post* augerent *add.* δ F: In Deuteronomio praecipuum benedictionis argumentum proponitur Israelitis, quod nullus esset inter illos futurus sterilis, nec mas nec foemina. Et Lya dicitur despecta a domino, quod non pareret. Quin et in Psalmis inter praecipuas beatitudinis partes refertur vxoris foecunditas. *Vxor, inquit, tua sicut vitis abundans. Filii tui, sicut nouellae oliuarum in circuitu mensae tuae.*
- 406, 8 ne β γ A δ F: nec S.
- 407, 5-408, 1 Argumento... persequar β γ S A: Priscae leges poenas constituerant aduersus coelibes, quae, tametsi per Constantinum Caesarem temperatae sunt in fauorem Christianae religionis, tamen arguunt quam non sit e republica vel minui ciuitatem amore coelibatus vel spuriis impleri. Quin Caesar Augustus censor inquisiuit in militem, quod in ducenda vxore non paruisset legibus, et periclitabatur ni docuisset se trium liberorum parentem. Declarant et in hoc Caesarum leges fauorem erga coniugium, quod indictas viduitates a Miscella inductas sustulerunt ac sublatis poenis huiusmodi pacta tanquam praeter aequum et bonum inita pro irritis haberi voluerunt. Adde quod Vlpianus declarat dotis causam semper et vbique praecipuam, quod haudquaquam fuisset, nisi praecipua quaedam vtilitas ex matrimonio reipublicae [reipublicae *om.* F] proficisceretur. Habitus est honos coniugio, sed maior foecunditati. Simul atque contigisset nomen patris, haereditatis et omnis legati atque etiam caduci capax reddebatur. Id liquet etiam ex poeta satyrico: *Per [pro: Propter] me scriberis haeres, / Legatum omne capis nec non et dulce caducum.* Plus etiam commodorum adferebat ius trium liberorum: in his est immunitas a publicis legationibus. Quinque porro liberi vacationem impetrant a personalibus quoque muneribus, quod genus est tutela. Ei, cui tredecim liberi contigissent, Iulianus imperator non modo vacationem indulsit a decurionatu, sed simpliciter ab omnibus muneribus. Nec silent huius tanti fauoris causas [causam F] sapientissimi legum conditores. Quid immortalitate felicius? Hanc natura negatam matrimonium arte quatenus licet largitur reipublicae. Cui non optabilis est apud posteros memoria? Haec nullis fornicibus, nullis pyramidibus, titulisue certius propagatur quam liberorum procreatione [procreatione F]. Apud Adrianum imperatorem causam vicit Albinus non alia commendatione quam quod reipublicae dedisset numerosam sobolem. Proinde dispendio fisci passus est liberos in paterna bona in solidum succedere, quod intelligeret imperium magis fulciri propagatione iuuentutis quam pecuniarum accessione. Postremo caeterae leges nec omnibus regionibus nec quibuslibet temporibus congruunt; sola coniugii lex ad omnes orbis nationes, ad omne tempus pertinet δ F.

- 408, 3 ac semetipsos A δ F: seque β γ S.  
 408, 4 iam β γ S A: In summa δ F.  
 409, 1 vlcio A δ F: poena β γ S.  
 409, 4 ne A δ F: nec β γ S.  
 409, 8 reliquo β γ S A F: reliquo etiam δ.  
 409, 10 ignoret β γ A δ F: ignorat S.  
 409, 12 Gigantum A δ F: Gigantium β γ S.  
 410, 3 certissimo β γ S A: cum primis graui δ F; *post* inuenitur *add.*  
 δ F: praesertim in palmis  
 410, 4-5 concubitus appetens A δ F: concubitu β γ S.  
 410, 5 *Post* mansurae sint *add.* δ F: Idem indicat autores esse, qui  
 credant [credunt F] in omnibus quae gignit tellus inesse  
 sexus [sexum F] et [et *om.* F] maris et foeminae  
 410, 6-7 deus ita... quibusdam A δ F: ita... quibusdam β γ, ita...  
 quibusdam natura S.  
 410, 7 egere γ S A δ F: agere β.  
 410, 8 versatile A δ F: versabile β γ S.  
 411, 3 interisse β γ A δ F: interiisse S.  
 411, 9 *Post* numini *add.* δ F: huius  
 411, 10 *Post* accersere *add.* δ F: Crudelior enim est, qui generi suo  
 quam qui vni sibi molitur exitium.  
 411, 13 liceret A δ F: liceat β γ S.  
 412, 8 Britannus A δ F: Anglus β γ S.  
 412, 11 columbos β γ S A F: columbas δ.  
 414, 7 *Post* coelibatus *add.* δ F: per se  
 414, 11 *Post* foedam illam *add.* δ F: et obscoenam  
 414, 12 a peccato S A δ F: peccato β γ; profectam β γ S A F: pro-  
 fectos δ.  
 414, 14 a natura an a A δ F: an a natura an β γ S.  
 414, 14-15 *Post* a natura *add.* δ F: Nam in corporis affectionibus mini-  
 mum interest inter hominem et reliquas animantes.  
 415, 5 dicenda S A δ F: discenda β γ.  
 415, 10 *Post* apostolis *add.* δ F: apostolis aliquot  
 416, 3 vacaret δ F: vacet β γ S A.  
 416, 6 *Post* castrarunt *add.* δ: sed addit  
 416, 8 ecclesiasten *add.* δ F.  
 417, 5 *Post* coniugium *add.* δ: si mores vtriusque status inter se  
 conferas  
 417, 6 modo *add.* A δ F.  
 418, 3-10 praesertim... vxoribus *add.* A δ F.  
 418, 12 *Post* homini *add.* δ F: plebeius plebeio, infirmus infirmo  
 418, 14 virginitate γ S A δ F: virginitati β.  
 419, 5 fratris β γ A δ F: patri [*sic*] S.  
 419, 9 sit inuitatus δ F: inuitaretur β γ S A.  
 419, 12 Atqui A δ F: Atque β γ S.  
 419, 20-420, 15 Nulla... inuitat *add.* A δ F.

- 420, 11 *Post daret add.* δ F: eo  
 420, 15-16 naturae sensus, si *add.* A δ F.  
 421, 3 quam β γ S A F: cum δ.  
 421, 4 secretos β γ S A δ: secreto F.  
 421, 9 permixtione A δ F: permutatione β γ S.  
 421, 11 Sed A δ F: Saepe β γ S; existimamus A δ F: existimauius  
 β γ S.  
 421, 14 *Post Vxoria add.* δ F: vero  
 421, 17 cupiat β γ A δ F: cupit S.  
 421, 24 homini quidem β γ S A: quidem homini δ F.  
 422, 11 ne A δ F: nec β γ S.  
 422, 12 ponatur A δ F: ponantur β γ S.  
 422, 22 noster β γ S A: *om.* δ F.  
 422, 27 *Post perfuncto add.* δ F: vitae muniis  
 423, 12 *Post tibi add.* δ F: magna ex parte  
 423, 17 amantium β γ S A F: animantium δ.  
 423, 22 Catonis β γ S A δ: Bruti F.  
 424, 7 deligas β γ A δ F: diligas S.  
 424, 8 dulcior A δ F: dulcius β γ S.  
 424, 13 clamat β γ A δ F: clamitet S.  
 425, 9-16 Ab exitu... amasset *add.* A δ F.  
 425, 20 *Post illam add.* δ F: ac vix vlli creditam  
 426, 6 lues β γ S<sup>2</sup> A δ F: es S<sup>1</sup>.  
 426, 20 *Post e terra add.* δ F: veluti mures in Aegypto; *et post*  
*proiectis add.* δ F: quod est in fabulis  
 427, 4 poterunt β γ S A δ: potuerunt F.  
 427, 10 Vt enim β γ S A: Quemadmodum δ F.  
 427, 15 habiturus δ F: habitura β γ S A.  
 427, 18 Liceat β γ A δ F: Licet S.  
 428, 3-4 tuo... intermorituro β γ A δ F: *deest* S.  
 428, 7 suppeditat β γ A δ F: suppetit S.  
 428, 8 *Post propagari add.* δ F: vel quos peculiaris quidam aeterni  
 numinis fauor e [*e om.* F] communi hominum sorte selectos  
 coelesti cuidam sanctioni [cuipiam functioni F] destinavit,  
 quorum mira est raritas  
 428, 24 appulisse A δ F: appulisse. Bene vale. Finis β γ, appulisse.  
 Bene vale S; Plurimum A δ F: In summa plurimum S.  
 428, 28 si qua A δ F: si quae S.  
 428, 30-429, 1 ac... liberis *add.* A δ F.  
 428, 31 *Post communes add.* δ F: ad rem accommodandi sunt  
 429, 6 mox A F: suo loco S.  
 429, 11-13 Veluti... improbam *add.* A F.  
 429, 16 parabitur A F: paratur S; pleraque A F: omnia S.  
 429, 21-22 Aut hoc... aut *add.* A F.  
 429, 25 confictum A F: confectum S.  
 430, 5 Adducet A F: Adducit S.

- 430, 6 semel admissam *add.* A F.  
 430, 8 finxerit A F: finxit S; Atque... tractabilis *add.* A F.  
 430, 9 Ad haec... tum illa A F: Tum... illa S.  
 430, 10 mulierculis A F: mulieri S.  
 430, 11 et alere *add.* A F.  
 430, 17-19 Res... manumittendi *add.* A F.  
 431, 2 corporis *add.* A F.  
 431, 2-3 pecuina A F: pecorina S.  
 431, 5-21 Atque... vxoris A F: Hic colligat incommoda coniugii: curam rei domesticae, mores vxoris, peccata filiorum, morbos S.  
 431, 6 quae F: que A.  
 432, 1 quenquam *add.* A F.  
 432, 1-2 Quae... virginitatis *add.* A F.  
 432, 7-14 Plures... lectorem A F: Tum exemplis agendum et item de caeteris argumentis. Sed haec alias latius S.  
 432, 16-21 Quum... dolorem A F: Officium quidem est, amicos in rebus afflictis, vbi re mederi non licet, verbis saltem consolari S.  
 432, 23-433, 27 Proinde... Dicemus nos A F: Ita ad consolandum accedemus, vt nostrum potius ipsi dolorem ostendere quam eius mitigare videamur, hoc est, ferrum abscondere secari nolenti. Negabimus illi vel nostra vel cuiuspiam consolatione opus esse, quod non ignoremus eum pro summa sua sapientia animique magnitudine casum suum fortiter ferre, nos S.  
 433, 28 angamur animo A F: animo angamur S.  
 433, 30 solum *add.* A F; etiam *add.* A F.  
 434, 3 licet eleuemus A F: queamus alleuemus S.  
 434, 6 dispiciemus S<sup>2</sup> A F: despiciemus S<sup>1</sup>.  
 434, 14 tam... quam A F: adeo... vt S.  
 434, 15 commodi A F: incommodi S; indicemus S<sup>2</sup> A F: iudicemus S<sup>1</sup>.  
 434, 18-20 quemadmodum... sunt *add.* A F.  
 434, 21 plurimum A F: nos plurimum S.  
 435, 8-9 si modo cui scribimus A F: modo S.  
 435, 9 huiusmodi A F: eiusmodi S.  
 435, 10 permisceamus S<sup>2</sup> A F: promisceamus S<sup>1</sup>.  
 435, 11-12 nisi... scribimus *add.* A F.  
 435, 14 O Meliboe... fecit *add.* A F.  
 435, 17 aduersarum A F: aduersariorum S.  
 435, 20-21 meum tibi... agnosco A F: meum... tibi agnosco S.  
 435, 24 Nae tu sane... nihil A F: Nec tu quidem... quidquam S (*in textu*), Nec tu quidem... nouum aut S (*in erratis*).  
 435, 25 maiorum *add.* A F.  
 435, 26-27 nec aduersus A F: nec aduersus quidem S.

- 435, 28 excellentis A F: magni S.  
 435, 30 permoueat A: monebitur [*pro: mouebitur*] S, permoneatur F.  
 436, 1-2 Non tibi doleat... qui A F: Nec tibi soli dolet quod vulnus S.  
 436, 4 moderatius A F: moderantius S.  
 436, 10 quidem A F: quod S.  
 436, 15 sustineat A F: queat S.  
 436, 19 possumus S<sup>2</sup> A F: possimus S<sup>1</sup>.  
 436, 21-22 afflictis... reuocare, A F: vt afflictis... reuocare! S.  
 436, 24 non... decreuissent A F: tribuissent S.  
 436, 26 Anyti... damnarunt A F: concitatum temere vulgus veneno  
 damnauit S.  
 436, 28 ipsos S<sup>2</sup> A F: ipso S<sup>1</sup>; publicus S<sup>1</sup> A F: publicitus S<sup>2</sup>.  
 436, 29 Serius S<sup>2</sup> A F: Seruius S<sup>1</sup>.  
 436, 31 tui *add.* A F.  
 436, 34 mitius A F: mollius S.  
 437, 1 coercitos A F: coercitas S.  
 437, 2 sit S<sup>2</sup> A F: sat S<sup>1</sup>.  
 437, 3 adducor A F: ducor S.  
 437, 4 sic S<sup>2</sup> A F: sit S<sup>1</sup>.  
 437, 7 vllis remediis *add.* A F.  
 437, 12 sed tamen S<sup>1</sup> A F: quanquam tamen S<sup>2</sup>; aiunt *add.* A F.  
 437, 13 videlicet A F: vide S.  
 437, 22 honestam famam *add.* A F.  
 437, 25 Socrates A F: Phocion ille Atheniensis S.  
 437, 26 venenum bibiturus A F: quum bibiturus venenum S.  
 437, 27 malles A F: mauis S.  
 437, 29 indigno A F: indigne S.  
 438, 3 animi... perinde A F: industria, proinde S.  
 438, 5-6 fortunae saeuitia *add.* A F.  
 438, 7 gloria... sic A F: gloria per orbem S (*in textu*), gloria tam  
 late per orbem S (*in erratis*).  
 438, 12 vel obscuri vel inuidiosi A F: obscuri inuidiosius S.  
 438, 16 reliquerit A F: reliquerat S; Cameracensis ciuitas A F: Came-  
 racum S.  
 438, 20 nihil... decessit *add.* A F.  
 438, 21 his A F: de his S.  
 438, 22 omnes *add.* A F.  
 439, 1 tibi *add.* A F.  
 439, 5 triumphatore A F: triumphante S.  
 439, 8-10 Aristides... est *add.* A F.  
 440, 5 summam A F: suam S.  
 440, 10 ne A F: nec S.  
 440, 11 aut A F: nec S.  
 440, 15 frangi S (*in erratis*) A F: infringi S (*in textu*); sed *add.* A F.  
 440, 17 etiam peritia A F: peritia etiam S.  
 440, 22 vtendum S (*in erratis*) F: viuendum S (*in textu*) A.

- 440, 27 esse A F: fuisse S.  
 440, 30 obtineret S (*in erratis*) A F: obrueret S (*in textu*).  
 440, 30-31 animi virtutem A F: virtutem tuam S.  
 440, 34-455, 28 Quamquam... Sylua *add.* A F.  
 441, 12 Aliud... consolationis A F: Erasmi Roterodami in genere  
 consolatorio declamatio  $\alpha$   $\beta$ , D. Erasmi Roterodami in  
 genere consolatorio declamatio de morte  $\delta$ .  
 441, 13 adolescentis optimi A F: optimi pueri  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 441, 13-14 Antoni clarissime A F: *deest*  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 442, 3 dolori A  $\delta$  F: dolore  $\alpha$   $\beta$ ; ipsi mihi A F: mihi ipsi  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 443, 7 vti  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A  $\delta$ : vt F.  
 443, 14 perniciosum iis  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: iis perniciosum  $\beta$ .  
 444, 5 mutari  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: vitari  $\delta$ .  
 445, 8 adolescentulis  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: adolescentibus  $\beta$ .  
 445, 12 consessu  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: concessu  $\beta$ .  
 446, 2 intuens  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: intuitus  $\delta$ .  
 446, 12-13 Intuere A  $\delta$  F: Interea  $\alpha$ , Praeterea  $\beta$ .  
 447, 5 munia  $\beta$  A F: munera  $\alpha$   $\delta$ .  
 447, 9-10 priuatim... sitam esse  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: priuatim esse... sitam  $\beta$ .  
 447, 11 Gallos  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: Galbas  $\beta$ .  
 447, 13 adoptauerat A  $\delta$  F: optauerat  $\alpha$   $\beta$ .  
 447, 17 et occisos  $\alpha$  A  $\delta$  F: occisos  $\beta$ .  
 447, 18 ac miseram  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: miseramque  $\delta$ .  
 449, 2 et A F: ac  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 449, 13 sis A F: sit  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 450, 8 videri  $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F: videre  $\alpha$ .  
 450, 9 est  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: sit  $\delta$ .  
 450, 20 auocetur A F: auocatur  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 450, 23 gnauiter A  $\delta$  F: grauiter  $\alpha$   $\beta$ .  
 451, 13 *Post tempus add.*  $\delta$ : eo  
 452, 13 demum A F: denique  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 452, 17 consuevit A  $\delta$  F: consueuerit  $\alpha$   $\beta$ .  
 452, 18 rei  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A  $\delta$ : *om.* F.  
 453, 5 meminit  $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F: meminert  $\alpha$ .  
 453, 6 modis A  $\delta$  F: *deest*  $\alpha$ , rationibus  $\beta$ ; animus  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: animi  $\delta$ .  
 453, 19 eandem  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: *om.*  $\delta$ .  
 453, 20 conueniat  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: conuenit  $\delta$ .  
 454, 19 reuocare  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: reuocari  $\delta$ .  
 454, 24 ploramus  $\alpha$   $\beta$  A F: deploramus  $\delta$ .  
 455, 1 *Post Nam add.*  $\delta$ : id quod res est  
 455, 15 Tanto, inquis A F: Tanto  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 455, 19 occubuit  $\beta$  A  $\delta$  F: accubuit  $\alpha$ .  
 455, 24 deploranda est A F: deploranda  $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\delta$ .  
 455, 27 *Post filius in*  $\alpha$   $\beta$ : Finis declamationis de morte, autore Des.  
 Erasmo Roterodamo, *in*  $\delta$ : Dixi.  
 455, 29 hoc... rogo A F: caue S.

- 456, 11-462, 3 Est... mea *add.* A F.  
 462, 5 exacerbabunt A F: augebunt S.  
 462, 6 Quorsum attinet A F: Quorsum S (*in textu*), Quorsum spectat S (*in erratis*).  
 462, 8 Ipse... oportet *add.* A F.  
 462, 10 Itane ista tam A F: Ita S.  
 462, 13 ne A F: nec S.  
 462, 18 illud A F: Plautinum illud S.  
 462, 18-19 rerum... mali A F: conditione animum dimidium esse mali S.  
 462, 26 volentem fata A F: fata volentem S.  
 463, 3 etiamsi... esses *add.* A F.  
 463, 6-16 Consolatio... δακρύει A F: *Thema iocosae consolationis*.  
 Compotorem suum, qui ex nocturna potiuncula et puellae congressu in languorem incidit, suus congerro consolatur hoc pacto:  
*Iocosa consolatio*.<sup>\*</sup> 'O te Herculem! Iaces vir tantus exiguo villo superatus? Nam de puella tam molli, ita dii me ament, pudet tuo nomine. Succubuisti superior. Me solebas contemnere et semiuirum ferox appellare. Quem ego te vicissim vocabo? Herculem? Sed ab Omphale prostratum! Desine mihi post hac tua iactare facinora, aut te pugnae quam primum restituas, vbi, nisi acceptum pudorem summa virtute resartias, pro Hercule Sardanapalus appellaberis. Ita decreuit senatus, quem nosti non ante solis occasum solui, vt Romanum illum olim, sed post conditum solem incipi solere. Iam acies instructa est, iam *rauco sonuerunt cornua cantu* [Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 2]. Omnes compotores te expectant, ducem requirunt. Illa victrix animosa te prouocat: tu fac vt pristinae virtutis memineris. Si mature redis, nec victus quidem videberis, vt qui vulnus dederis, acceperis nullum. Hi ioci si morbo tuo mederi non poterunt, nec pharmacum quidem vllum poterit. Vale.' S.  
 464, 1-465, 7 AD... recursuri *add.* A F.  
 464, 20 etc. F: est A.  
 465, 9-468, 29 Seruius... pendere A F: Si rem magni momenti petere constituimus, omnes rationes quas in suasorio genere ostendimus oportebit adhibere, vt eius a quo petimus beneuolentiam conciliemus, vt rem facilem, honestam, necessariam ostendamus. Erit autem tum prudens tum simplex omnis petitio nostra. Si qua [... petitio. Nostra si qua *err.*] in illum sunt merita, ea summa cum dissimulatione significabimus [... significabimus. Si qua illius in nos officia, ea et ingenue fatebimur et vltro amplificabimus *err.*] dicemusque, cui sumus deuinctissimi, ei nos velle fieri deuinctiores. Fiduciam quoque summam ostendere profuerit. Narratio erit artificiosa et ad persuadendum accommodata. In fine magnifice



- pollicebimur gratiam nos habituros et relatores. Omnia nostra illi dedicabimus ac deferemus. Obsecratio quoque, si res tanti videbitur, non erit omittenda. Si quid obstabit, id diligenter diluemus S.
- 466, 3 circumstet A: circumstat F.
- 468, 30 Petitionis... exemplum A F: Exemplum S.
- 468, 31 praesul A F: pater S.
- 469, 1 plurimum A F: multum S.
- 469, 2 potius... quam A F: acceptas referre cupiam, nisi S.
- 469, 3 Lucius A F: Erasmus S.
- 469, 5-6 vel vsui... ornameto A F: vsui S.
- 469, 6 quam *add.* A F.
- 469, 9 debeo munificentiae A F: paternitati debeo S.
- 469, 11 ex me *add.* A F.
- 469, 15 theologica... insigniendus A F: doctoratus insigni sum donandus S.
- 469, 17 quoniam *add.* A F; tantum *add.* A F.
- 469, 18-19 praepositura Corinthiensis, non maxima... illa... commodissima A F: episcopatus Senensis, non maximus... ille... commodissimus S.
- 469, 21 propria forent A F: sua essent S.
- 469, 21-23 Praeterea... sum *add.* A F.
- 469, 24-25 quam hoc... maleuolentes *add.* A F.
- 469, 26 patrocinari A F: mihi patrocinari S; principe A F: summo pontifice S.
- 470, 2 haec praepositura A F: hic episcopatus S.
- 470, 8-476, 10 Petitoriae... agitur *add.* A F.
- 470, 22 ii A: *om.* F.
- 472, 10 esse A: te esse F.
- 472, 21 hercule A: hercle F.
- 473, 17 agendi F: augendi A.
- 476, 13 alieno nomine A F: nouum S; iisdem A F: eisdem fere S.
- 476, 14-15 eius quem A F: et eius quem S.
- 477, 5 commonstrauit A F: demonstrauit S.
- 477, 6 renunciaturus S (*in erratis*) A F: remuneraturus S (*in textu*).
- 477, 8 ipsius A F: eius S.
- 477, 12 si piam *add.* A F.
- 477, 15 obsecrationibus A F: obsecratione S.
- 477, 18 enim A F: igitur S.
- 477, 20 eum A F: euum S.
- 477, 21 aut vtilem *add.* A F.
- 477, 23 ipsi *add.* A F.
- 477, 25-478, 8 Et huius... annotabimus *add.* A F.
- 478, 8-9 Commendatorii A F: Huius S.
- 478, 9 tum A F: tamen S.
- 478, 15 mihi *add.* A F.

- 478, 20 tibi *add.* A F.  
 479, 1-2 nisi... parum A F: et si non parum vtrunque S.  
 479, 3 vnquam *add.* A F.  
 479, 7 essent a mente A F: menti essent S.  
 479, 10 benignitas A F: paternitas S; antehac nunc et A F: nunc S.  
 479, 12 commoditatis sit A F: sit commoditatis S.  
 479, 17 tergiuersationes A F: calumnias S.  
 479, 19 quia A F: quod S.  
 479, 20 hoc in tempore A F: tum S.  
 479, 20-23 sic est... peritus A F: demum esset opus. Ad Pascha enim erat doctoratus insigni decorandus, est autem vtriusque iuris consultissimus S.  
 479, 23 Midae causificationibus A F: Croesi calumnia S.  
 479, 24 e medio A F: in medio S.  
 480, 1 e manibus A F: manibus S.  
 480, 4 memoriam A F: memoriam et per ipsam iuuenis tui obseruantissimi conditionem S.  
 480, 5 vel odio A F: hodie S.  
 480, 6 Et A F: Et tametsi S.  
 480, 7 sunt A F: sint S; gratum *add.* A F.  
 480, 10-488, 3 Est... volebamus *add.* A F.  
 486, 8 oneretur A: oneratur F.  
 488, 6 indicare A F: iudicare S.  
 488, 8 Cum... negabimus A F: Multa in eo esse egregia dicemus, non S.  
 488, 9 neuo A F: veneno S.  
 488, 9-10 neque... laudetur *add.* A F.  
 488, 11 idem A F: id S.  
 488, 15 forte *add.* A F.  
 488, 16 vt... mutua *add.* A F.  
 489, 2 monemus S A: mouemus F.  
 489, 4 simus A F: sumus S; illo... ingrediente A F: illuc... ingrediendum S.  
 489, 7-490, 17 Probatissimorum... praeceptio A F: Crebras sententias adferemus, autorum dicta citabimus, laudem admiscebimus, breuibz clausulis vtemur, rationes nonnunquam apponemus. Huius praeceptiunculae accuratissimum exemplum qui quaerit, legat eam Ciceronis ad Q. fratrem epistolam [1, 1], cuius hoc caput est: *Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistolam.* Praeterea et Hieronymi de honestate clericorum [*Epist.* 52] et Senecae epistolae et eorum libri qui de recte viuendo scripserunt facile nobis hoc in genere omnia suppeditabunt. Nos demonstrandi gratia exemplum quaecunque subiiciemus S.  
 490, 18 Exemplum... monitoriae *in textu* A F, *in margine* S.  
 491, 10 ne A F: nec S; olim *add.* A F.

- 491, 11 obtine A F: induere S.  
 491, 18-19 confer... accipe A F: adfer... suscipe S.  
 491, 21-22 Ne... comis *add.* A F.  
 491, 22 Nullus... tempore A F: Nihil sit tibi tempore sumptuosius S.  
 492, 1 ne A F: ne vel S.  
 492, 2 ac A F: et S.  
 492, 4-509, 26 Aliud... videri *add.* A F.  
 492, 7 viae A: vitae F.  
 496, 5 QVIS A: Qui F.  
 507, 18 iuueni A: inueni F.  
 508, 19 Ostendi A: Ostende F.  
 509, 30 praecipi A F: praecepi S.  
 510, 3-4 ambiendam... amicitiam A F: eum conciliandum S.  
 510, 4-5 vix citra... potest A F: citra... nequit S.  
 510, 8 Santeranus... S. D. A F: Sauteranus... S. D. P. S.  
 510, 12 (vt aiunt) *add.* A F.  
 510, 13 Antonius A F: Erasmus S.  
 511, 6 ignarum et A F: ignarum, S; beatum A F: fortunatum S.  
 511, 18 aut... proferemus *add.* A F.  
 511, 19 coniunctum *add.* A F.  
 511, 22-23 iuuenum... honestissimum A F: suis quidem fortunis longe  
 inferiorem amorem nostrum S.  
 511, 24 Denique quam poterimus A F: Deinde quam S.  
 512, 1 est *add.* A F.  
 512, 2-3 petent... curae est A F: petemus S.  
 512, 3-513, 9 Quanquam... diebus *add.* A F.  
 513, 1 est enim A: enim est F.  
 513, 13-14 quod... admonitione *add.* A F.  
 513, 16 ponimus A F: ponemus S.  
 514, 9 an humili *add.* A F.  
 514, 13 partem habeat A F: partem S (*in textu*), habeat partem S (*in erratis*).  
 514, 15 exponemus *add.* A F.  
 514, 19 qua figura *add.* A F; habeat A F: habet S.  
 514, 20 quamque A F: vnamquamque S.  
 514, 22 cuiusque A F: vniuscuiusque S.  
 515, 7-10 et si... descriptio *add.* A F.  
 515, 11-12 comparabimus S F: comprobabimus A.  
 515, 16 et regiae... Apuleium *add.* A F.  
 515, 17-516, 1 poetas et historicos [poetas historicos A]... Philostratum A  
 F: poetas, historicos, etc. S.  
 516, 2 describimus A F: describemus S.  
 516, 5 hypotyposim... imaginem, et *add.* A F.  
 516, 6 et si... facit *add.* A F; exhibebimus F: adhibebimus S A.  
 516, 7-8 Nam... suppetit *add.* A F.  
 516, 11 volumus F: volumus S A.

- 516, 12-13 aut... faciamus A F: et... facimus S.  
 516, 13 e A F: ex S.  
 516, 14 scribitur epistola A F: epistola scribitur S.  
 516, 15 Tamen quoniam S (*in erratis*) A F: Tum quum S (*in textu*).  
 516, 15-517, 1 debet... persequi non licet A F: debeat... prosequi non liceat S.  
 517, 2 nonnunquam *add.* A F.  
 517, 4 conquestione A F: questione S; vel ab exclamatione *add.* A F.  
 517, 5-6 Quanquam... rhetores *add.* A F.  
 517, 7-8 Mox... docebimus *add.* A F.  
 517, 8 Postremo A F: Deinde S.  
 517, 10 praefecte A F: princeps S.  
 517, 17 omni A F: omnium S; mari A F: sinu S.  
 517, 20 Neptuno mihi irato A F: Laribus iratis S.  
 517, 21 praecipitandam A F: praecipitandum S.  
 517, 24-25 Fateor... excepi *add.* A F.  
 518, 2 tametsi... tamen A F: ego S.  
 518, 3 fucatissimi A F: simulantissimi S.  
 518, 3-4 mira... probitatis A F: probitatis specie quadam S.  
 518, 4-5 denique... ego A F: canicie denique. Quid ego hic S.  
 518, 6 fuerit *add.* A F; intimam A F: interiorem S.  
 518, 9 dictum illud A F: Plautinum illud S.  
 518, 11 famula S (*in erratis*) A F: familia S (*in textu*).  
 518, 13-14 Nam... potest *add.* A F.  
 518, 15 delegerit A F: elegerit S.  
 518, 17 insperante A F: insperate S; eo quod S (*in textu*) A F: quod ex ilibus S (*in erratis*).  
 518, 22 quid... sit *add.* A F.  
 518, 26 consusurrationis S (*in textu*) A F: consusurrantes S (*in erratis*); tot A F: quot S.  
 519, 1 coniecturam facere A F: coniectare facere S (*in textu*), coniecturam mouere S (*in erratis*).  
 519, 2 igni A F: igne S.  
 519, 4 relictam... vestium S (*in erratis*) A F: reliqua sublata et quidquid vestium S (*in textu*); quicque A F: quidlibet S (*in textu*), quidque S (*in erratis*).  
 519, 5 fugaeque A F: fugaque S; hospes A F: et hospes S.  
 519, 7 aestimare A F: existimare S.  
 519, 13 illuxit A F: eluxit S.  
 519, 19 ne A F: nec S.  
 519, 20 sacrum A F: sacratum S.  
 519, 20-21 hominem... fuisse *add.* A F.  
 519, 22 vir A F: princeps S.  
 519, 25 illectam A F: electam S.  
 519, 28 ipsum A F: illum S.  
 520, 3 inciderit A F: incidet S.

- 520, 4-5 tua seueritas sumat... liberet A F: sumas... liberes S.  
 520, 7-19 Quum... instituto A F:  
 De defensoria epistola  
 Criminationi defensione respondemus, quae, quum plus  
 etiam habeat artificii quam accusatio, tamen hic omitte-  
 mus, tum quod multis verbis opus erit, tum quod a  
 rhetoribus hac de re sit diligentissime praeceptum. S.  
 520, 21 officium eorum A F: officiorum operam S.  
 520, 23 nisi... liceat *add.* A F.  
 520, 24 voluntatem A F: voluptatem S.  
 521, 2 ne A F: nec S.  
 521, 3 te an sepultum A F: te? insepultum S.  
 521, 5 Itane potuit ob A F: Itaquene potuit ob non S; Lucius A F:  
 Erasmus S.  
 521, 10 nec A F: ne S.  
 521, 12-14 Quot... piget A F: An tot iucundis suspiriis consumptis-  
 simus, nunc non aliquid etiam somno defraudaris, dum vnum  
 aut alterum versiculum ad amicum scribas? S (*in textu*),  
 Quot noctes iucundis susurriis [*sic*] consumpsimus, et nunc  
 aliquid somni fraudari, dum vnum aut alterum versiculum  
 scribas, piget? S (*in erratis*).  
 521, 16 me saluere A F: ne saluere quidem S.  
 521, 21-23 primum leues... fuisse A F: plurimum leues et me, si te  
 temere reprehendi, audacter recrimineris. Vale. S.  
 522, 1-525, 11 Aliud... conseruabo *add.* A F.  
 524, 9 Lib. XI A: Lib. II [*pro*: 11] F.  
 524, 14 irascor A: irascerer F.  
 525, 12 PVRGATIONE A F: expurgatione S.  
 525, 16 eam A F: ea S.  
 525, 16-18 Quanquam... oportet *add.* A F.  
 525, 21 meum *add.* A F.  
 526, 2 rerum elatus A F: elatum S.  
 526, 4 quando A F: aliquando S.  
 526, 10 Ne A F: Nec S.  
 526, 12-13 siue scripsero... scripsero *add.* A F.  
 526, 14-531, 24 Hoc... scriberem *add.* A F.  
 528, 15 redduntur A: reddantur F.  
 532, 2 et ingratum *add.* A F.  
 532, 4 recedere A F: procedere S.  
 532, 7 hominibus A F: nebulonibus S.  
 532, 7-8 malo... cuneus A F: stulto iuxta stultitiam respondendum S  
 [*cf. Prov. 26, 4*].  
 532, 16 patereris S F: pateris A.  
 533, 1 promeritus A F: meritus S.  
 533, 3 reposueris A F: rependeris S; appello A F: compello S.  
 533, 4 inquam A F: iniquam S.

- 533, 8 pudet A F: pudeat S.  
 533, 9 intueor A F: intuear S.  
 533, 13 ne A F: nec S; post *add.* A F.  
 533, 14 vigiliarumque A F: vigiliarum S.  
 533, 16 quos... ingratissime A F: Scotorum Scotissime S.  
 533, 19 istam A F: illam S.  
 533, 19-20 Sedebas... bos A F: Sedebas, puto, pulchellus bos S.  
 533, 21 ac A F: et S; canaque A F: cauaque S.  
 534, 2 deuorarim, decoxerim *add.* A F.  
 534, 9 officiosam A F: officiose S.  
 534, 10-24 Quum... optime *add.* A F.  
 535, 3 precari... vltiores A F: superos praecari S.  
 535, 5 facias... mereris A F: facis nullum. Male pereas S.  
 535, 6 Exprobratoriae sylua *add.* A F.  
 535, 7 Huius A F: Huius etiam S.  
 535, 10-18 Epist.... medicinam *add.* A F.  
 535, 21 e iudiciali A F: iudicali S.  
 536, 1 vtimur A F: vtemur S; diluimus A F: diluemus S.  
 536, 1-2 regerimus A F: rei amplificabimus S.  
 536, 3-4 in ipso statim... non tolerandam A F: in... statim intolerandam S.  
 536, 5 ingenium ac *add.* A F.  
 536, 7 diluamus A F: diluemus S.  
 536, 14 ab... verecundo *add.* A F.  
 536, 17-18 progressu... eludemus A F: processu, omnium scommatum, salium, dictorum genere insectabimur S.  
 536, 19-20 nec... improbitatem *add.* A F.  
 536, 22 *Post relinquare [vel fortasse post adhibebimus (l. 20)] add. S in erratis:* A nostra modestia paulisper abductos, inuitos admodum id facere dicemus, id vereri ne, si tacuerimus, silentium nostrum non modestiae, sed culpae conscientiae imputetur.  
 537, 1 Politiani et Scalae *add.* A F.  
 537, 3-11 Atque... mitterentur *add.* A F.  
 537, 15-16 ab aetate A F: aetate S.  
 537, 16-17 hinc... solidam [solitam A F] *add.* A F.  
 537, 17-18 Eum... misericordia *add.* A F.  
 537, 18-538, 1 quem... conamur *add.* A F.  
 538, 2-5 Eam... fideiubebimus *add.* A F.  
 538, 7 excussit... tuus A F: mihi excussit filius S.  
 538, 9 perisse A F: periisse S.  
 538, 9-10 optimum *add.* A F.  
 538, 12 omnia se digna A F: emendam S.  
 538, 14 quando A F: quum S.  
 538, 15 graues huius *add.* A F.  
 538, 17 nec iratus A F: nec iratus quidem S.

- 538, 19-21 Ne... incogitantiae *add.* A F.  
 538, 22 et quidem nunc A F: nunc quidem S.  
 538, 23 noxae *add.* A F.  
 538, 25 Nunquamne A F: Nunquam S.  
 538, 26 commisisti... irasci A F: fecisti, quod a patre tuo corripere posset S.
- 538, 26-539, 8 Non... volumus *add.* A F.  
 539, 10 vtrunque... amicum A F: vtrunque abdicare licebit S.
- 539, 19-540, 26 Aliud... etc. *add.* A F.  
 540, 27 purgat A F: propria purgat S; quod A F: quia quod S.  
 541, 3 vel *add.* A F; deprecato A F: deprecato S.  
 541, 5 stulticia A F: malitia S.  
 541, 7-8 tuos... senes A F: tuos senes continuo S.  
 541, 8 qualis A F: qualis tu S.  
 541, 12 hactenus A F: satis S.  
 541, 13 rhetorici artificii A F: rhetorum artificium S; desiderant A F: desyderent S.  
 541, 14 illae A F: ille S.
- 541, 14-23 Referetur... quod *add.* A F.  
 541, 23 nunciatio A F: Nunciatio igitur S.  
 541, 24 lucida A F: dilucida S.  
 542, 8 Nebridius A F: Ebridius S.  
 542, 9-10 ille strenuus... perditissimus *add.* A F.  
 542, 11-12 vale dixit, funigerorum A F: valefecit, Cordigerorum S.  
 542, 13-14 Quis nunc... posse *add.* A F.  
 542, 19-20 pontificium... euicit A F: episcopatum... obtinuit S.  
 542, 21 euicit A F: obtinuit S.  
 543, 5 ne A F: nec S; sacerdotium A F: beneficium S.  
 543, 7 competitores A F: petitores S.  
 543, 7-8 olfecit... inihiare *add.* A F.  
 543, 8-10 Huiusmodi... inihiare A F: Tu vigilia ne praeda tam bona eripiat S.  
 543, 12 celebrata est A F: est celebrata S.
- 543, 12-13 Calendis... est *add.* A F.  
 543, 13 quartum F: quintum S A.  
 544, 1 socrum A F: matrem S.  
 544, 3-4 illi... temperat A F: superis S.  
 544, 4 quod... potest *add.* A F.  
 544, 7 Tu... tuarum *add.* A F.
- 544, 8-547, 6 Nunciatoriae... epistolis *add.* A F.  
 544, 23 epist. A: om. F.  
 547, 7 MANDATORIA A F: commissiua S.  
 547, 8 mandatoria A F: commissiua S.  
 547, 14 ne... veneat A F: non... veniat S.  
 547, 15 appellatum A F: monitum S.  
 547, 16 excessit A F: praeteriit S.

- 547, 18 sacerdotio A F: beneficio S.  
 548, 1 Trebatii A F: Gulielmi S.  
 548, 2 reddendos A F: reddendas S.  
 548, 3 meo meis verbis A F: meo nomine S.  
 548, 5-6 fac vt... abducas A F: fac... abducito S.  
 548, 8 Verulana S<sup>1</sup> A F: Verulanina S<sup>2</sup>.  
 548, 9 expedias A F: ostendas S.  
 548, 11 quemadmodum add. A F.  
 548, 12 fungare A F: fungere S.  
 548, post 12 in S:

#### De narratoria epistola

Narratio si rite tractetur, et plurimum adfert voluptatis et ad persuadendum plurimum adfert momenti. Ea cuiusmodi esse debeat, a Cicerone monstratum est. Quae siue ficta siue vera erit, naec [*pro*: haec] tria habere debet: claritatem, breuitatem, verisimilitudinem. Obscuritatem in narrando effugiemus, si vt quicque primum gestum erit, ita primum exponemus et rerum ac temporum ordinem obseruabimus. Hic cauendum, ne quid perturbate, ne quid contorte, ne quid ambigue, ne quid noue dicamus neue ad aliam rem transeamus, ne ab vltimo repetamus. Breuitatem obseruabimus, si vnde oportebit rem exponere incipiemus, si non elonginquo repetamus, si non singillatim, si summam dicemus, si cauebimus ne idem bis dicamus neue quod intelligi poterat superuacua oratione narremus. Verisimilis erit narratio, si vt natura, vt opinio postulat dicemus; si spacia temporum, personarum dignitates, consiliorum rationes, locorum oportunitates constabunt; si cuiusque aetati, professioni, ingenio, moribus decorum et in dicendo et in agendo tribuemus; si vultum, gestum quoque vnius cuiusque ante oculos ponemus.

#### Exemplum

*Exemplum fabulosae narrationis.\** 'Quaeris qui tandem haec aulica vita procedat? Dicam, sed caue rideas. Ego ille serius et seuerus cum Demea illo Terentiano, nouus assentator, praeceptorem ad eam rem nactus sum ipso Gnatone non paulo peritiorem. Sed nunc demum mihi, iuxta Graecum prouerbum *Asellus ad tyram*, lupi [S<sup>1</sup>, lupiquam S<sup>2</sup>] illius qui in apologis mihi simillimus videor. *Fabula lupi ex apologis* [S<sup>1</sup>, om. S<sup>2</sup>].\* Is enim quum triduana inedia maceratus famelicus circumiret, vulpem forte obuiam habuit. Quam vbi pinguiculam ac nitidam videret, mirari coepit vnde in tam densa niue victum sibi pararet. At illa simiae latebras quasdam commonstrat, vbi se opipara coena comiter exceptam aiebat, at etiam assae carnis reliquias



profert. Quas vbi lupo subito deuorasset — irritatur iam fame — vulpeculam obnixè rogat, viam sibi aliquam aperiat qua se ipse quoque posset in simiae familiaritatem insinuare. Illa nulla noua arte ad eam rem opus esse respondit, tantum mentiri ne pueret. Ille facillimum existimans falsum dicere, ad antrum confestim pergit. Ingredientem quum grauissimus nidor nares offenderet, clare expuens, "Malum," inquit, "quid hic tam grauiter obolet?" Introspectit, foedissimam bestiam deformes catulos complexantem vidit. Hic ille vulpinorum monitorum oblitus, exclamans, "Pape," inquit, "turpiores ego bestias haud vidi vnquam!" Continuo prosilientes simiae in lupo impetum faciunt. Alia in oculos inuolat, alia natibus insedit. Ille miser vix effugit. Rediens vulpem offendit, expostulat, narrat vt dixerit, vt eiectus sit. Tum vulpes, "Non miror," inquit, "qui statim in limine verum dicere coeperis. At ego te mentiri iusseram. An tu credis mihi nasum aut oculos non esse? Ego quum primum ingrederer, mentiebar perinde me nouo quodam odore recreari, ac si in vnguentaria taberna consedissem. Tum illam reginam reginarum omnium pulcherrimam, formosae sobolis formosiorē matrem praedicare non destiti. Praeterea inter coenandum caui, ne quid vnquam veri dicerem imprudens. Hoc si tu calleres, non fame perires." Me prorsus haec descripsit fabula. Inter aulicos enim nihil vero odiosius, mihi nihil quam mentiri difficilius. Quare reducem me propediem expecta. Vale.'

*Exemplum narrationis verisimilis.\** 'De regia morte varios isthic ac plane diuersos rumores ferri vulgo scribis. De vulgo quidem nihil est quod mireris: morem antiquum obtinet. Quae a vero sunt alienissima, ea credit lubentissime. Quare ne quid dubites, rem a me, quemadmodum ab autoribus certissimis didici, accipe. Nam quod repentina mors acciderit, ea res veneni suspicionem plerisque attulit. Quod autem ea Quadragesima, quae illi fatalis et nouissima fuit, praeter morem et valetudinem abstemius vixerit, inde necis subitae quidam causam duxerunt. Sunt et qui immodica Venere defecisse credant. Erat omnino id in eo vicium dum viueret, ad quod tum aetas, tum regalis luxus, tum aequalium assentatio cohortabatur. Verum vbi Neapoli redisset, siue mutata mente siue tam praesentibus territus, diuersum vitae genus ingredi coepit. Accessit eodem cordigerorum quorundam exhortatio, qui regis animum eo perpulerunt, vt vniuersis huius vitae illecebris se penitus abdicaret, nihil sibi permetteret, nihil indulgeret. Monachum, non regem dixisses. Quod institutum quum paulo ante

coepisset, tum in proxima Quadragesima ita sese inclementer maceravit, vt pristinae licentiae poenas a se ipse exigere videretur. Erat autem corpore admodum imbecillo, superne corpulentior ac cruribus mirum in modum exilibus. Itaque quum Idibus Aprilibus ex more pransus vna cum regina inambularet, sinistra vxoris dextram complexus, altera manu bacillum, vt solet, per ocium iactitabat. Per id tempus turris quaedam edificabatur, opus sane et munitissimum et pretiosum. Id vbi intentius lustraret ac suspiceret, repente in tergum collapsus est. Exanimata regina pene concidit. Trepidatur toto palatio, accurrunt principes, regem moribundum in cubiculum referunt. Ibi vix pauca locutus, animam efflauit. Habes rem, ita vt gesta est. Caeterum de mortis autore aliorum sit coniectura. Ego Italos huius sceleris artifices esse puto. Nec regem quidem ipsum medicorum iudicio certam mortem latuisse reor. Vale.'

- 548, 13-549, 5 Mandatoriae... pater *add.* A F.  
 549, 7-8 libertum... functos A F: officio suo functum S.  
 549, 9 iucundius A F: felicius S.  
 549, 10 ego A F: ego demum S.  
 549, 12 id *add.* A F.  
 549, 13 persuasum A F: persuasum tibi S.  
 549, 19 quum A F: quando S.  
 549, 26-550, 25 Gratias... agere *add.* A F.  
 550, 31 adiumenti meis rebus A F: meis rebus adiumenti S.  
 550, 32 Vere negant referre A F: Neque enim referre dicunt S.  
 550, 33 quam amico A F: quanto S.  
 550, 35 gratias S A: gratiam F.  
 550, 35-551, 1 ne... quidem te A F: nec... te quidem S.  
 551, 3 in quo mea vicissim A F: quo mea S.  
 551, 13 alicuius A F: cuius S.  
 551, 14 totum *add.* A F.  
 551, 15 Nicolao A F: Edoardo S.  
 551, 23 et ego... verbis A F: neque ego verbis quam re S.  
 551, 25-554, 32 Agendi... gaudeas *add.* A F.  
 553, 17 Laudas A: Laudes F.  
 555, 2-5 Inter... disertos [disertum F] *add.* A F.  
 555, 7 Laurenti, te A F: Edoarde, me S.  
 555, 8 nisi quod A F: Sed S; amiculum A F: auunculum S.  
 555, 10 hoc A F: aliud S.  
 555, 11 decidi, recidi *add.* A F.  
 555, 12 Sogdianus A F: Scotus S.  
 555, 17 Antonium A F: Henricum S.  
 555, 19 sodalis A F: iuuenis S.  
 556, 8 Sogdianum A F: Scotum S.  
 556, 9 Ne A F: Nec S.

- 556, 13 dextro A F: dextero S.  
 556, 15 praeposterus ille Polycrates *add.* A F.  
 556, 16-17 veris... nimirum *add.* A F.  
 556, 22-561, 5 Lamentatoriae... Lucilio *add.* A F.  
 559, 14 ecquod F: et quod A.  
 559, 20 vitai F: vitam A.  
 561, 7-562, 12 Quemadmodum... optimos A F: In gratulatione animi nostri summam voluptatem declarabimus. Rem, de qua gratulamur, extollemus. Eum vnum eiusmodi honore dignum per assentationem dicemus. Deinde illi, vt bene vertat, precabimur S. ei F: et A.  
 561, 26 collegiique... praesulem A F: et populi consensu episcopum S.  
 562, 14-15 tu te S F: tute A.  
 562, 16 praestitisti A F: exhibuisti S.  
 563, 1 pontificem A F: antistitem S.  
 563, 3 honoris... autoritate A F: vitae claritate S.  
 563, 4 semper *add.* A F.  
 563, 5 Sacerdotio... Etruria A F: Episcopatu... Britannia S.  
 563, 5-6 honestius aliud... magis opimum... commodius A F: honestior alius ... ditior... commodior S.  
 563, 9-10 primum... omnibus A F: tuae paternitati gregique tuo S.  
 563, 10 quantus quantus A F: quantus S.  
 563, 12-566, 12 Gratulatoriae... sapientiae *add.* A F.  
 566, 15 Ioannem *add.* A F.  
 566, 16-17 saepe... Ausonius *add.* A F.  
 566, 17-18 Cicero... monstrauit A F: Cicero De oratore monstrauit S. *post* monstrauit *in* S: Exemplum. 'Salue, cessator omnium cessatorum maxime. Bellum tibi denunciaturus eram, quod tu iam sexcentos annos nihil scribis, multa abeunti pollicitus. Iam parati fecialis paterque patratus, iam hasta coniicienda, ni Sertorius tuam causam doctissime egisset, homo Cicerone ipso patronus non inferior. Habebat causam sane difficillimam et iudicem minime aequum. Quid excusauit, inquires? Non negotia tua, non tabellariorum penuriam, non perfidiam. Ista enim antiqua sunt mendatia, et te noui. Placauit vero me, quod chiragra te laborare diceret. Ridere me putas? Sed Esculapio gallum voueas oportet. Vale.' [Cf. Ep. 70].  
 566, 18-579, 5 Exempla... semper *add.* A F.  
 567, 7 audeo F: audio A.  
 569, 1 suspicimus F: suscipimus A.  
 569, 2 assentationis F: assentationibus A.  
 569, 20 deuinctum F: deuictum A.  
 571, 5 Accedit A: Accidit F.  
 571, 6 optimis A: optime F.  
 573, 2 officiosum F: officiorum A.  
 574, 10 meis F: mea A.

- 574, 22     certe **F**: certae **A**.  
579, 6-7     LIBRI... FINIS **A**: Finis **S**, Libri de ratione conscribendi  
                 epistolas finis **F**.

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“FEMINAE UNICA EST CURA PUDICITIAE”: RHETORIC AND  
THE INCULCATION OF CHASTITY IN BOOK 1 OF VIVES’ *DE  
INSTITUTIONE FEMINAE CHRISTIANAE*\*

1. Introduction

Juan Luis Vives was possessed of an “humanisme engagé”.<sup>1</sup> The most famous Spanish humanist has long enjoyed the reputation of one of the outstanding pedagogues of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Often numbered among Vives’ pedagogical works is the *De institutione feminae christianae*, although, as Valerie Wayne rightly points out, it is more appropriately classified as a conduct book, for the treatise “is directed more toward women’s conduct than to their formal education”.<sup>3</sup> Vives completed the book in 1523, and Francis Birckmann published it in Antwerp in January 1524. In 1538, Vives produced a thoroughly revised and expanded second edition, published by Robert Winter in Basel. He dedicated the book to his favourite patron, Catherine of Aragon, and may

\* The research for this paper was made possible by a President’s Research Grant from Simon Fraser University. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Gilbert Tournoy, Mechtilde O’Mara, Edward V. George, Michael Milway, and Martin Kitchen. Abbreviations: Allen = *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols, ed. P. S. Allen — H. M. Allen — H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1906-1958); CWE = *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974-); PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus...series latina*, 221 vols, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1878-1890); VOO = *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*, 8 vols, ed. Gregorio Majans (Valencia, 1782-1790).

<sup>1</sup> Alain Guy, *Vivès ou l’Humanisme engagé* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Juan Zaragüeta, “L’humanisme et la pédagogie de Vivès”, in *Vivès, humaniste espagnol* (Paris, 1941), pp. 41-69; Pierre Jobit, “J. L. Vivès, éducateur”, in *Vivès, humaniste espagnol*, pp. 81-89; Fermin de Urmeneta, *La doctrina psicológica y pedagógica de Luis Vives* (Barcelona, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> Valerie Wayne, “Some Sad Sentence: Vives’ *Instruction of a Christian Woman*”, in *Silent But for the Word. Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent, Ohio, 1985), pp. 15-29 (p. 16). For a new approach and synthesis of Vives’ treatise, see the recent study by J. Papy, “Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) on the Education of Girls. An Investigation into his Medieval and Spanish Sources”, *Paedagogica Historica*, 31 (1995), 739-765.

have intended it as a wedding present for his bride Margaret Valdaura of Bruges, whom he married on 26 May 1524.<sup>4</sup> Vives divided his treatise, "the most ambitious treatment of female training to be published in the sixteenth century",<sup>5</sup> into three books. The first provided precepts for virgins (unmarried young women), the second for wives, and the third for widows. This tripartite analysis of womankind summed up the standard way that women were understood (by men) in the Renaissance and Reformation. It would be too much to say that Vives pioneered this analysis. His use of it with reference to the Virgin Mary in a short and youthful work of 1514, the *Virginis Dei parentis ovatio*,<sup>6</sup> suggests an allusion to an already existing commonplace. Yet his book on women made the three stages of a woman's life the basis for literary analysis in early modern Europe. Vives' influence is evident in Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della Institutione delle Donne secondo li tre stati che cadono nella vita humana* (1545).<sup>7</sup>

Owing to the popularity of the *De institutione feminae christianae* — it went through numerous editions in Latin and in various translations — and to the place it has assumed in the history of women's education, scholars have long recognized the significance of Vives' book. Foster Watson, one of Vives' champions in the early decades of this century, maintained that the *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, the title of Richard Hyrde's translation first published probably in 1529, "was the decisive modern beginning of the movement for the emancipation of women, educationally".<sup>8</sup> A

<sup>4</sup> See the notes by J. Papy in G. Tournoy — J. Roegiers — C. Coppens (eds.), *Vives te Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 28 juni-20 augustus 1993*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 8 (Louvain, 1993), pp. 115-125, nos. 33-35.

<sup>5</sup> Janis Butler Holm, "Struggling with the Letter: Vives's Preface to *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*", in *Contending Kingdoms. Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France*, ed. Marie-Rose Logan — Peter L. Rudnytsky (Detroit, 1991), pp. 265-97 (p. 266).

<sup>6</sup> Vives hails Mary: "O puellam, o nuptam, o viduam, o parentem pesti nostrae multum inuisam, dulcem nobis et persuavem!" See J. L. Vives, *Early Writings 2*, ed. Jozef IJsewijn — Angela Fritsen — Charles Fantazzi, *Selected Works of J. L. Vives*, 5 (Leiden, 1991), p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> J. L. Vives, *De institutione feminae christianae, liber primus*, ed. C. Fantazzi — C. Matheussen, trans. C. Fantazzi, *Selected Works of J. L. Vives*, 6 (Leiden, 1996), p. xxv. Unless specified otherwise, all page references in parentheses are to this volume.

<sup>8</sup> Foster Watson, *Luis Vives. El Gran Valenciano* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 60-61. Cf. the introduction to Watson, ed., *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women* (New York, 1912), esp. pp. 20-28. See also Papy, p. 755 (n. 61).

doctoral dissertation completed a generation ago also associates Vives with the cause of women's liberation.<sup>9</sup>

More recent interpreters, although they include Vives among the "masculine defenders of female mental capacity"<sup>10</sup> and acknowledge that he believed in the spiritual equality between men and women,<sup>11</sup> tend to be more cautious and/or critical in their judgments. Wayne, who notes that the *Instruction of a Christian Woman* was "the most popular conductbook for women during the Tudor period", rather curiously states that it was "a text that few people know well and perhaps fewer still have any great desire to read". She points out that Vives in his plan for women's education said nothing about their self-expression through writing and comments:

The life that Vives' *Instruction* describes for women is an exceedingly narrow and confined one... His definition of women's nature as weak and his concern for their chastity were derivative, but in addressing the subject of their education and in guiding them to a moral religious life, he was an innovator in the early years of the northern Renaissance. The rigid life he prescribes for women in his book was not the worst alternative for them then: it was one of the best available.<sup>12</sup>

Constance Jordan sounds a more negative note in her evaluation of the *De institutione* by emphasizing the complete inferiority of women to men in Vives' thought.<sup>13</sup> Margaret King writes that Vives — "this bold humanist" — "opened the door to the serious education of women. At that same time, Vives seems to close the door he opens". For "the education Vives prescribed for the young woman of the Renaissance was not one that would cultivate her mind, but one that would encourage her obedience to familiar duties and virtues".<sup>14</sup>

Vives' treatise has attracted the attention of scholars, but only to a relatively small degree. This may in part be due to the previous lack of a

<sup>9</sup> Judith Hughes Schomber, "Juan Luis Vives and Women's Liberation" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Florida State University, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991), p. 184. For other recent interpretations, see Papy, pp. 741-742.

<sup>11</sup> Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Wayne, pp. 15, 19-20, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism. Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca, New York, 1990), pp. 117-19.

<sup>14</sup> King, p. 165.

critical edition, a deficiency which Charles Fantazzi and Constant Matheussen have very recently remedied. Much of scholarly attention, as the above sampling of opinions shows, has concentrated on Vives' place in the history of women's education and therefore on the first few chapters in book 1. Nevertheless, no one would deny that the main point of the book is that "a woman is to guard her chastity above all".<sup>15</sup> Vives makes this quite clear in his preface to Catherine of Aragon: "Feminae unica est cura pudicitiae" (4). ("A woman's sole business is the preservation of her chastity").<sup>16</sup> Chastity is the most important virtue that a woman should cultivate (112). Vives asserts: "Credo perspicuum esse pudicitiam velut reginam esse in virtutibus feminae" (116). ("I think it is abundantly clear that chastity is, so to speak, the queen of female virtues" [117].) Chastity is not simply a virtue for unmarried women. Indeed, as is evident in book 2, it is more important for wives to be chaste than for single women. Human laws do not demand chastity in the same way from men as they do from women. Men have many responsibilities; the only responsibility of a woman is chastity.<sup>17</sup> Vives' preoccupation with chastity comes as no surprise given that Renaissance conduct books for women counselled them to be "chaste, silent, and obedient".<sup>18</sup>

For Vives, the education of women is a means to the inculcation of chastity. While most scholars have concentrated on Vives' concept of education for women, virtually no one, with two exceptions, has also taken into consideration the rhetorical strategies at work in the *De institutione*. Janis Butler Holm observes the tensions between Vives' professed preference for brevity in the preface and his copious elaboration on precepts relevant to women in the rest of the treatise. This tension can produce either an "agonistic" reading or a "concordant" reading. In other words, Vives' copious rhetoric may, most likely for modern readers, be ineffective and inappropriate when it comes to moral indoctrination, or, on the contrary, it may be interpreted as successful — or at least

<sup>15</sup> Jordan, p. 117 and Papy, pp. 743-744.

<sup>16</sup> Here I have preferred my own translation to that of Fantazzi: "A woman's only care is her chastity" (5).

<sup>17</sup> J. L. Vives, *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, ed. C. Fantazzi — C. Matheussen, trans. C. Fantazzi, *Selected Works of J. L. Vives*, 7 (Leiden, 1998), pp. 10, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient. English Books for Women, 1475-1640* (San Marino, California, 1982).



as a “relative success” — given that it coincided with traditional views on the control of women’s sexuality. “The repeated publication of the text may be interpreted”, Holm continues,

as a powerful assertion, the forceful projection of a well-received orthodoxy that is assured of its potency, certain of its issue. At the same time, however, we may see this reiteration as symptomatic of a kind of discursive anxiety, as evidence of a compulsion to rehearse that which is inadequately embodied until “saying makes it so”.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately, Holm does not sufficiently ground her analysis upon a close reading of Vives’ text, which she has consulted only through Hyrde’s translation.

Edward V. George, a leading authority on Vives’ rhetoric,<sup>20</sup> reads Vives thoroughly, however. He considers both the audience of and the “gratuitous invective” in the *De institutione*. Vives’ intended audience is a diverse one, consisting not only of the young women, wives, and widows whom Vives wishes to instruct, but also of the male or female guides or guardians of these women. A decidedly male readership must not be ruled out, for Vives wrote his *De officio mariti* (1529) in response to men’s appreciation for the *De institutione*.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, whether their contact with Vives’ text was immediate or whether it was mediated to them by a father, husband, or other male authority figure, women, it seems reasonable to assume, were Vives’ ultimate audience. As George points out, the “target” of his invective was a female one.<sup>22</sup>

George examines the place and frequency of Vives’ invective against women as well as the transition from third-person impersonal discourse to second-person apostrophe. I would like to contextualize what I call Vives’ rhetoric of reproach within his broader, didactic aim to inculcate

<sup>19</sup> Holm, pp. 276-83, quotations: p. 283.

<sup>20</sup> Edward V. George, “Rhetoric in Vives”, in *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia* (Valencia, 1992-), 1, 113-77; “Rhetorical Strategies in Vives’ Peace Writings: The Letter to Charles V and the *De Concordia*”, in *Ut granum sinapis. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. Gilbert Tournoy — Dirk Sacré (Louvain, 1997), pp. 249-63. On Vives’ rhetoric see also Don Abbott, “La Rétorica y el Renacimiento: An Overview of Spanish Theory”, in *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, California, 1983), pp. 95-104 (pp. 96-98).

<sup>21</sup> George, “Persuading a Feminine Audience? Gratuitous Invective Apostrophe in Juan Luis Vives’ *On the Education of a Christian Woman*”, *Scholia*, n. s. 5 (1996), 94-111 (p. 95).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

chastity in his female audience. Yet before I consider this "frequent and highly visible rhetorical device",<sup>23</sup> I will begin my analysis of Vives' rhetorical strategies with another conspicuous and constantly employed rhetorical tool: the assertion of textual authority in the form of the *sententiae* and *exempla* that Vives draws from classical literature, the Scriptures, and the Church Fathers. The impressive authority of these sources for humanist scholarship shows women that they must be chaste. Vives integrates his reproachful rhetoric within the general plan of the assertion of textual authority. For the purposes of this article, I will concentrate primarily on book 1 of Vives' treatise. A close analysis of this book adequately demonstrates his purpose. Books 2 and 3 need to be set in the wider context the history of marriage and of widows in the Renaissance and therefore require separate studies.

## 2. A Woman's Education

Vives does not lay down a specific age when a girl's formal education should begin, but before he discusses this in detail he urges that girls should not be idle. They should keep busy at carrying out domestic tasks such as weaving and cooking. These tasks along with reading keep a woman's mind from wandering and her desires from leading her to enjoy sensuous pleasures. The primary purpose of a woman's education, including learning letters, is not to develop her intellect but to keep her chaste. In chapter 4, "De doctrina puellarum" ("On the Instruction of Young Girls"), after rehearsing his arguments against learning about evil, Vives writes: "Mulierem non facile invenias malam nisi quae ignorat aut certe non considerat quantum sit bonum pudicitia" (28). ("You will not easily find an evil woman save that she be one who is ignorant of or at any rate gives no thought to the importance of the virtue of chastity" [29]). A woman's reading should be directed towards "studia sapientiae, quae rationem doceant optime et sanctissime vivendi" (38) ("the study of wisdom, which forms morals in the way of virtue, the study of wisdom which teaches the best and holiest way of life" [39]). Learning how to embroider or read and write in Latin appear to be on an equal footing when it comes to methods for an unmarried woman to liberate herself from her lover (166) because a chaste maiden avoids the

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

company of men. Since it behoves women to be silent, they need not learn to express themselves eloquently. What they need, Vives writes, is rectitude and wisdom, not eloquence (39). Although in chapter 4 he seems willing for women to possess the eloquence of a Cornelia, or a Hortensia, or a Eunomia (41), at the end of book 1 he equates female “facundia” with “garrulitas” (202). In women eloquence is nothing but chatter.

True, Vives defends the learned, that is, literate woman against those who see no reason why women should devote any time to reading, and for this he has received recognition and praise from scholars. Yet Vives is much more concerned with what women should *not* read. At all costs they should avoid the romantic literature popular in his own day. Only as an afterthought<sup>24</sup> does he quickly put together a curriculum for a woman’s reading:

Porro quinam libri sint legendi (nam hoc quaerat aliquis) de quibusdam nemini non constat, velut de Evangelii Domini, de Apostolicis tum actis, tum Epistolis, de historicis et moralibus Veteris Instrumenti, de Cypriano, Hieronymo, Augustino, Ambrosio, Chrysostomo, Hilario, Gregorio, Boethio, Fulgentio, Tertulliano, Platone, Cicerone, Seneca et similibus (50).

As for what books should be read (for someone will ask me this), there are some on which everyone is agreed, as the Gospels of the Lord, the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles, the historical and moral books of the Old Testament, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Hilary, Gregory, Boethius, Fulgentius, Tertullian, Plato, Cicero, Seneca and such authors.<sup>25</sup>

A woman may read poetry, but only Christian verse. Vives recommends the ancient Christian poets Prudentius, Arator, Prosper, Juvenius, and Paulinus (53). He denounces the love poetry of pagan antiquity, especially that of Ovid (49).

Vives’ terse reading list for women lacks a specific plan or system<sup>26</sup>. Only from the Bible does he recommend specific books or types of

<sup>24</sup> Gloria Kaufman, “Juan Luis Vives on the Education of Women”, *Signs*, 3 (1978), 891-96 (p. 894).

<sup>25</sup> Chrysostom, Fulgentius, and Tertullian do not appear in the list of recommended reading in the first edition of the *De institutione*. Furthermore, in the first edition Vives refers simply to the Old Testament (*Vetus Testamentum*) without specifying the genre of biblical books.

<sup>26</sup> Papy, p. 762, points at the resemblance with Francesc Eiximenis’ sources and reading programme and concludes (p. 764): “Vives’ censored reading programme for girls should consequently be seen in the context of Eiximenis’ battle against women’s coquettish behaviour”.

books. His list of Church Fathers is not in chronological order and abruptly ends with three pagans "and such authors". Nevertheless, it is obvious that Vives, good humanist that he is, proposes three sources of wisdom for women: the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and the best writers of classical antiquity. He did not expect women to approach these sources of wisdom on their own. Women are subject to men in all stages of their lives. Vives asks men in the *De officio mariti*: "quid aliud, quam serviunt nobis, sive virgines parentibus, sive nuptae maritis, sive liberis matres?" ("What do they do other than serve us, whether as girls serving their parents, wives their husbands, or mothers their children?")<sup>27</sup> In their choice of reading, women also serve or are subject to men. Only husbands who have lost their wits will allow their wives to read romantic absurdities (49). With respect to certain books a woman must seek the advice of educated and prudent men so that she does not rashly hold to her own opinions or, with only a superficial familiarity with learning and literature, confuse truth and falsehood, the healthy and the harmful, the serious and the silly, the praiseworthy and the foolish: "Super quibusdam consulendi sunt docti et cordati viri, ne temere suum iudicium sequatur femina nec leviter disciplinis et litteris intincta falsa pro veris, pernicioosa pro salubribus, inepta et stulta pro gravibus et approbatis admittat" (50). Associating himself with his male audience in the *De officio mariti*, Vives affirms that is "our" duty and prerogative to teach women: "nostrum enim est hoc munus, nostra quasi provincia, illas (sc. feminas) instituere".<sup>28</sup> Thus, Vives aptly illustrates Evelynne Berriot-Salvadore's point about the "decisive intervention" of men in the education of women: "in order to avoid every risk of perversion, man appears as an indispensable intermediary between woman and knowledge".<sup>29</sup>

Vives' ideal woman holds in her hands the guidance she needs to make the most of her reading in approved literature. The *De institutione*, written by a learned man, serves as an abundant florilegium of references to and quotations from the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and classical authors. Vives presses these sources into the service of inculcating chastity into women.

<sup>27</sup> VOO 4, 403.

<sup>28</sup> VOO 4, 367. See also Papy, p. 744.

<sup>29</sup> Evelynne Berriot-Salvadore, *Les femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1990), p. 57.

### 3. *Sententiae*: Classical Sources

Vives' sources convey two kinds of authority, *sententiae* and *exempla*. He wishes to instruct women with wise sayings or authoritative pronouncements and with examples drawn from mythology and history. I will first consider the *sententiae* and then move on to the *exempla*.

The only Greek classical author that Vives recommends by name in his reading list for women is Plato. In his warning against reading poetry, Vives reminds women that Plato would not countenance the reading of Homer and Hesiod in his ideal state (49). This of course is a reference to the *Republic*. Vives specifically cites Plato's *Laws* as a source for the philosopher's prohibition on wine for adolescents (69). The frugal diet that the Spanish humanist prescribes for a young woman is practically monastic. He recommends frequent fasts before marriage to control the passions of youth. In order to avoid stirring up these passions women should eat light, plainly seasoned meals and should drink water instead of wine. Valerius Maximus, the Roman moralist and historian of the early Empire, provides the inevitable case against wine. Wine and chastity do not mix. Vives quotes from the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri ix*: "Vini usus," inquit Valerius Maximus, 'olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam Venerem esse consuevit'" (64). ("The use of wine" says Valerius Maximus, 'was unknown to Roman women, so that they would not fall into any disgrace, because it is well known that the next step after Bacchus, father of intemperance, is that which leads to unlawful lust' [65]). If pagan women knew the dangers of wine, so should Christian women.

Vives includes his opinions on female diet in chapter 7, "Quomodo virgo corpus tractabit" ("How the Young Woman Will Treat Her Body"). The chapter opens with a reference to Aristotle's *History of Animals*. Aristotle advises mothers to be vigilant in their efforts to prevent contact between their daughters and men (65). In chapter 9, his tirade against female adornment, Vives writes:

Aristoteles, philosophus ingeniosissimus, mulieres iubet sumptu, vestitu et apparatu minore etiam uti quam legibus permissum sit, considerare praecipiens non vestimentorum nitorem nec excellentiam formae nec auri copiam tantum valere ad mulieris laudem quantum modestiam in rebus ac studium honeste ac decore vivendi (90).

Aristotle, the wisest of philosophers, bids women to make less use of luxuries, clothing and accoutrements than is permitted by law. He urges them to reflect that it is not splendor of attire or preeminence of beauty or abundance of gold that earns praise for a woman, but modesty in her possessions and the desire to lead an honorable and respectable life (91).

Vives respected Aristotle for his importance in the history of philosophy and for his clear writing style, but his invocation of Aristotle's authority in the *De institutione* seems rather curious given his refusal to follow Aristotle in moral philosophy.<sup>30</sup>

Vives also read Plutarch, who joined Plato and Aristotle as among the most popular Greek authors among Renaissance humanists. Plutarch serves as a gold mine of instructive examples for Christian women, but in chapter 4, Vives invokes the authority of Plutarch's stated opinion that an educated woman will never indulge in dancing: "'Numquam,' inquit Plutarchus, 'saltationibus se mulier recreabit litteris addicta'" (38).

For the stern Spanish moralist dancing is a crime against chastity. He maintains that in Christian cities one finds dance schools next-door to brothels (151). Cicero, one of Vives' favourite Latin authors, inveighs against dancing in the *Pro Murena*: "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto; intempestivi convivii, amoeni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio". (150) ("Hardly anyone dances when he is sober unless he is out of his mind, whether he be alone or at a respectable banquet. Dancing is the final escort of dinner parties starting at an early hour, in attractive surroundings and amidst all sorts of sensuous delights" [151]). Vives concludes that dancing is necessarily the summit of all vices: "Ita saltationem necesse est omnium vitiorum esse quasi cumulum" (150).

In his campaign to instruct women from classical literature, Vives clearly likes to quote short, pithy sayings. A favourite source of maxims for Vives and for other Renaissance writers was Publilius Syrus, the famous Roman mime and contemporary of Cicero. In the Renaissance, his sayings were often attributed to Seneca. Erasmus pointed out this misattribution in the dedicatory epistle to *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo*

<sup>30</sup> Carlos Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 171-72. On Vives' attitude towards Aristotle see *ibid.*, pp. 164-73 and J.-C. Margolin, "Vivès, lecteur et critique de Platon et d'Aristote", in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500-1700*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 245-58 (pp. 252-58).

*Roterodamo castigatore* which first appeared in print in 1514.<sup>31</sup> He esteemed Publilius' maxims: "Nam Publii Mimos quis contemnat, quos Aulus Gellius lepidissimos, Seneca disertissimos vocat, cuiusque sententias, vt idem testatur, non piguit summos etiam rhetores aemulari?" ("Who dares despise the *Mimes* of Publius, when Aulus Gellius calls them most elegant and Seneca most expressive, and when, as Seneca also tells us, the most eminent orators were ready to try and match his pithy style?")<sup>32</sup> Vives must have used Erasmus' edition, which was reprinted several times, since he recommends it in his *De ratione studii puerilis* (1523)<sup>33</sup> and since other sixteenth-century editions continued to present Publilius' maxims as those of Seneca. In book 1 of the *De institutione*, he cautions that a woman should not be left alone to think for herself, no matter how worthy the beginning of her thoughts, for, given her unstable mental constitution, she could easily fall from virtue to vice: "Nec cogitationibus animum ut permittat est tutum, quantumlibet honestis initio et sanctis. Lubricus est feminae cogitatus nec uno loco facile consistit. A rectis ad prava exiguo negotio delaberetur" (106). Appealing to the authority of the Roman mime, Vives continues: "Nec omnino sine causa videtur quibusdam dixisse Publius Syrus mimographus: 'Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat'" (106). ("Publilius Syrus, the writer of mimes, was right in saying 'When a woman thinks alone, she thinks bad thoughts'" [107]). Those who are lucky enough not to be smitten by romantic love should heed the verse of the mime: "Amor animi arbitrio sumitur, non ponitur" (160). ("Love is entered into at our own free choice, but not laid aside in the same manner" [161]). Yet those who have fallen prey should not despair of liberation. They too ought to consider what the mime says: "Amor extorqueri non potest, elabi potest" (166). ("Love cannot be removed forcibly but it can be escaped" [167]).

Of all the classical references in the *De institutione*, those to Ovid are the most surprising. In the preface to Catherine of Aragon, Vives maintains: "mihi nullus umquam hominum iustius videtur exulasse Ovidio Nasone, si modo propter artem amandi relegatus est" (6) ("to my mind no one was ever more justly exiled than Ovidius Naso, if indeed he was banished because of the *art of love*" [7]). This Augustan poet, according

<sup>31</sup> Allen 2, 2, ep. 298, lines 11-12.

<sup>32</sup> Allen 2, 2, ep. 298, lines 27-30. CWE 3, 3-4, ep. 298, lines 33-35.

<sup>33</sup> VOO 1, 265.

to Vives, was "magister impudicitiae, publicus corruptor morum civitatis" (6) ("a master of unchastity and public corruptor of the morals of the state" [7]). Not surprisingly, Ovid is on Vives' list of authors whom women should avoid (49-51). Within the context of the *querelle des femmes* it is instructive to note what Vives does *not* say about Ovid. He condemns the poet for his loose sexual morals. So did Christine de Pisan at the beginning of the fifteenth century in *Le livre de la cité des dames*, which was published in an English translation in 1521. Yet Ovid's licentiousness explains what was for Christine of greater import: his attack on women in his poetry. She also mentions him by name when she defends women against men who have accused them of fickleness in romance.<sup>34</sup> For Christine, Ovid was harmful to women because he was a misogynist. Vives, however, saw Ovid as a threat to the cultivation of chastity.

Nevertheless, despite his reservations, in book 1 of the *De institutione*, Vives explicitly refers to the authority of Ovid more than any other classical writer! He must have been quite familiar with his poetry. Sometimes Ovid serves as a key witness against himself and what he represents. Why read classical love poetry when Ovid himself advises that one should avoid even the best poets? Vives quotes several lines from the *Remedia amoris* which begin with this verse: "Eloquar invitus: teneros ne tange poetas!" (48) ("Reluctantly I say, eschew the poets of love" [49]). If young women who are not content to stay at home will not listen to Christian authorities, then let them take advice from pagans. Vives points out:

Ovidius flagitiosa illa tradens amandi praecepta de publicis spectaculis dicit:

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae;  
Ille locus casti damna pudoris habet (146).

In his scandalous manual on the art of love Ovid says this about public spectacles:

They come to see and also to be seen.  
That place bodes ill for purity of life (147).

<sup>34</sup> Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York, 1982), pp. 21, 187. From a modern feminist perspective, Judith Hallet observes: "Ovid seems to relish delineating sexual violence against women more than poetic inspiration". See Judith P. Hallet, "Feminist Theory, Historical Periods, Literary Canons, and the Study of Greco-Roman Antiquity", in *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, ed. Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz — Amy Richlin (New York, 1993), pp. 44-72 (p. 65).



On other occasions, Ovid appears as one expert among many whose advice women should heed. After quoting Cicero, Vives observes that Ovid too recommends a temperate diet for those who esteem chastity (71). Insisting that women avoid love affairs, he again quotes from the *Remedia amoris* to show that if love is not nipped in the bud, it will become overpowering:

Vidi ego quod fuerat primo sanabile vulnus  
Dilatum longae damna tulisse morae (162).

I saw a wound at first susceptible of cure,  
But neglected, suffered the bane of long delay (163).

Vives is more restrained in his use of Ovid in the rest of the *De institutione*. He does not refer to the poet in book 3. In book 2 he uses Ovid as a source on only three occasions. Twice Ovid supplies Vives with *exempla* of women who refused to live after the death of their husbands. In the second edition, published in 1538, Vives adds the only quotation in book 2 from Ovid, a brief three words from the *Fasti*. Vives simply refers to “the poet” to show the connection between beauty and pride: “poeta ille dixit: ‘Sequitur superbia formam’”.<sup>35</sup>

#### 4. *Sententiae*: Scripture

The many allusions to and quotations from Scripture come as no surprise in the *De institutione*, a product of the Renaissance and of a Christian humanist. Vives enlisted the authority of the Bible in teaching women the precepts of chastity.

In the concluding chapter of book 1, “De quaerendo sponso”, Vives not only instructs women to leave the business of finding a husband to their parents but also advises them about the realities of marriage. In the second edition of the *De institutione*, he opens the chapter by establishing an essential foundation of marriage: humanity perpetuates itself through procreation, and God instituted marriage to sanctify human offspring, allowing us, without sinning, to comply with nature. Vives continues: “Ideo Paulus ait, qui virginem suam viro collocet, non malefacere, tantum in Domino”.<sup>36</sup> (“Therefore Paul said: “He who gives his

<sup>35</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, pp. 24, 70.

<sup>36</sup> J. L. Vives, *De institutione foeminae christianae* (Basel, 1540), p. 338. Here I have preferred Robert Winter’s 1540 edition — I was unable to consult the 1538 edition that

daughter to a man in marriage does not act wrongly, as long as it is done in the Lord” [177]). This is a truncated and misleading version of 1 Corinthians 7: 38-39 which in the Vulgate reads: “Igitur et qui matrimonio iungit virginem suam, bene facit, et qui non iungit, melius facit. Mulier alligata est quanto tempore vir eius vivit, quod si dormierit vir eius, liberata est. Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino”. Marrying in the Lord, that is, marrying a Christian, is what widows must do; thus “tantum in Domino” does not qualify giving one’s daughter in marriage. At first glance, Vives’ abbreviation of the Pauline text supports the position that God has permitted marriage. His reference to Paul serves another purpose, however, that is not immediately obvious but becomes so a few lines later and within the entire context of the chapter. Vives’ main precept here is that women should not choose their own husbands but should be entirely submissive to their parents when it comes to finding a suitable marriage partner. How can a chaste girl, who for the sake of chastity remains closeted at home away from men, know whom to marry? (177) In 1538, Vives, to emphasize his point, adds the prayer of Sarah in *Tobit* 3: 16-17: “Tu scis, Domine Deus, quod numquam concupivi virum et mundam servavi animam meam ab omni concupiscentia. Numquam cum ludentibus miscui me neque cum iis qui in levitate ambulant participem me praebui” (178). (“You know, Lord God, that I never desired a man, and I kept my soul free of all concupiscence. I never joined in with those who play nor did I share the company of those who walk in fickleness” [179]). Vives then invites his readers to hear how Sarah told God of her acceptance of the husband chosen for her by her parents: “Virum cum timore tuo, non cum libidine mea consensi suscipere” (178). (“I have consented to take a man out of respect for you, not because of my desire” [179]).

When a woman’s parents are busy finding her a husband, she should pray for their success. She should also ask Christ to give her a husband who is not an obstacle to piety but who encourages her to be devout

Winter printed — to Fantazzi and Matheussen: “Ideo Paulus ait: ‘Qui virginem suam viro collocet non malefacere, tantum in Domino’” (176). It does not make sense to represent the passage “qui...Domino” as direct speech, for the infinitive “malefacere” would be incorrect. The infinitive suggests that Vives is using an accusative and infinitive construction to convey indirect speech. The accusative is suppressed. With the accusative restored, the passage would read: “Ideo Paulus ait, eum, qui virginem suam viro collocet, non malefacere, tantum in Domino”. I thank Mechtilde O’Mara for calling my attention to the grammatical function of “malefacere”.

(178). In 1538, Vives again invokes the authority of Scripture, this time the “vaticinium Apostoli,” the prophecy of Paul, to illustrate his precept: “Sanctificetur mulier infidelis per virum fidelem” (178-80) (“Let the unbelieving wife be sanctified by the believing husband” [179-81]). Not only does Vives misquote the Vulgate text of 1 Corinthians 7: 14 (“sanctificata est mulier infidelis per virum fidelem”) — a text which he quotes correctly in book 2 of the *De institutione*<sup>37</sup> — by turning the original indicative, “sanctificata”, into a hortatory subjunctive, “sanctificetur”, he also misapplies the text since he is instructing *Christian*, not unbelieving, women.

Vives adduces many of the traditional scriptural texts governing the conduct of women and establishing women’s inferiority to men. After commenting on the discrepancy between actual female adornment and the unanimous prescriptions of all holy authors, he proceeds in his 1538 revision of the introduction to chapter 8, “De ornamentis,” to quote 1 Peter 3: 3-4 and 1 Timothy 2: 9-10. Both passages urge that women abandon all finery: braided hair, gold bracelets, beautiful clothes (75-77). Not only must women be plain in appearance, but they must also be silent. They learn this early on in book 1, in the famous chapter 4 on a girl’s education. In this chapter, they read the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35 and in 1 Timothy 2: 11-14. Wives must be silent in church, for they do not have permission to speak. Their husbands can clear up any questions at home. Women must not presume to teach their husbands (41).<sup>38</sup> The two scriptural passages allow Vives to conclude:

Itaque, quoniam infirmum animans est femina et iudicio invalido quodque falli est in proclivi..., idcirco docere illam non oportet, ne cum sibi falsam de re aliqua opinionem persuaserit, auctoritate docentis in auditores transfundat et alios quoque in errorem suum facile pertrahat, nempe ultro doctorem sequentibus discipulis (40-42).

Therefore since woman is a weak creature and of uncertain judgement and is easily deceived..., she should not teach, lest when she has convinced herself of some false opinion she transmit it to her listeners in her role as a teacher and easily drag others into her error, since pupils willingly follow their teacher (41-43).

<sup>37</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, p. 146.

<sup>38</sup> The quotations of 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35 and 1 Timothy 2: 11-14 were already present in the first edition of the *De institutione*.

Another *locus classicus* of woman's subjection to man is Genesis 3: 16, the malediction of woman as a result of the fall. Vives first quotes the closing passage of this text in book 2 of the *De institutione* while reworking the chapter on how wives should treat their husbands for the second edition: "Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tibi" ("You shall be under the power of the man, and he shall have dominion over you"). These words are worthy of consideration, writes Vives, for "non solum viro ius et dominium traditur in feminam, sed usus quoque possessionis" ("not only is man given right and dominion over the woman, but also use and possession").<sup>39</sup> In book 1, Vives only refers to the malediction of man in Genesis 3: 19, which says that man must eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, but he applies this to all of humankind. The context is his attack on idle and lazy women. They should remember the admonition of Paul recorded at 2 Thessalonians 3: 10: "Qui non laborat, nec edat" (74). ("If anyone will not work then let him not eat" [75]). They should also realize that the punishment of sweat and toil is the common lot of all human beings (75).

## 5. *Sententiae*: Church Fathers

Of great authority for Vives were the Church Fathers. Indeed, in the second edition of the *De institutione*, he adds references to Church Fathers whom he never mentioned in the first edition. The most notable examples are Tertullian, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and John Chrysostom. Outside book 1 Tertullian appears only once, Fulgentius appears only in book 1. Vives appeals to the authority of Chrysostom both in books 1 and 2, but more extensively in book 2. Revising book 1, Vives appeals to the writings on virginity of Tertullian and Fulgentius to reinforce his plan to inculcate chastity. His inclusion in 1538 of these two Latin fathers along with Chrysostom suggests that between the first and second editions of the *De institutione* Vives was deepening his familiarity with patristic literature. Of course, he was not ignorant of the works of the Church Fathers when he first set out to instruct women. In 1522, a year before he completed the first edition of the *De institutione*, he had finally concluded his edition of Augustine's *City of God*. His familiarity with Augustine, however, yielded only three references to the writings

<sup>39</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & liber tertius*, pp. 34-35.

of the doctor of grace in his advice for unmarried women. In his chapter on virginity, Vives quotes a passage from Augustine's *De sancta virginitate* in which the Church Father esteems the members of the church for imitating her, the faithful virgin spouse of Christ and their mother (55). A sentence from the *City of God* appears in the context of Vives' demand that women should not converse with men (135). Augustine's remark in one of his sermons that it is evil to see a woman, worse to speak to one, and worst to touch one is probably the most misogynistic opinion that Vives reproduces for his readers (137).

Vives primarily turns to the Latin Fathers, although he mentions two Greek fathers by name: Gregory Nazianzen, who forbade girls to wear jewelry (71), and, of course, John Chrysostom, who wrote that in his day women stayed at home away from men (149). Many readers might have been unfamiliar with the early sixth-century North African theologian Fulgentius of Ruspe. The same might be said for Vives in the early 1520s. He uses one of the Church Father's letters on virginity as a source of instruction for women. A passage on the dress of virgins contains this warning: "Virgo quae ornatum corporeae vestis affectat, animam suam virtutum splendore despoliat; nec habet castitatem veram quae intuentibus parat illecebram; nec fidem servat Christo quae populo quaerit magis placere quam sponso" (94). ("The virgin who affects adornment of her bodily clothing despoils her soul of the splendor of virtue. She who rouses allurements in those who behold her does not possess true chastity. She who wishes to please the crowd rather than her spouse does not keep faith with Christ" [95]).

Since many of the Church Fathers extolled virginity, their works serve Vives' purpose of teaching women the precepts of chastity. This is especially the case in chapter 8, the attack on the use of cosmetics, perfume, jewelry, and elegant clothing. Here Vives includes two lengthy passages from Cyprian's *De habitu virginum*. Women should take special heed of his arguments against painting their faces and his warning against arousing male lust through ostentatious apparel. Cyprian is in agreement with Tertullian. The latter writes in the *De cultu feminarum* (from which Vives quotes on two other occasions in chapter 8): "Non de integra conscientia venit studium placendi per decorem, quem naturaliter invitatore libidinis scimus" (92). ("The desire to please by exterior embellishment does not come from a pure conscience, for we know that to be an invitation to lust" [93]). In a letter to Furia, Jerome writes that rouge and white lead on a woman's face are "ignis iuvenum,

fomenta libidinum, impudicae mentis indicia" (78) ("the fire of youth, the food of lust, the signs of an impure mind" [79]). Jerome goes on to say that these forms of female beautification are not becoming of Christ, but of the Antichrist: "Ornatus iste non Domini est, velamen istud Antichristi est" (80).

Of all the Fathers, Jerome possess throughout all three books of the *De institutione* the greatest authority when it comes to teaching women the vital importance of chastity. This is not surprising, given that in his strident polemical treatise *Adversus Iovinianum* he elevates virginity above the married state. A modern interpreter has consequently called Jerome "the inflexible champion of chastity".<sup>40</sup> Time and again Vives invokes the authority of Jerome, whom he esteems as "gravissimus" ("most eminent") and "sanctissimus" ("most holy") (118). In book 1, he defends his use of the word "lupanaria" ("whorehouses") as he urges women not to leave home to seek out the company of men since Jerome used it too (165). When it comes to pointing out the appropriateness of carding wool for women (21), criticizing female idleness (73), condemning cosmetics (79-81), giving advice on suitable female companions for a young woman (105) and on the correct way of being dressed in public (131), Vives relies on Jerome. This Church Father also teaches that it is better to suffer physical discomfort than to offend against chastity (67) and that a mother should take an unmarried daughter with her on a journey and not leave her alone at home (103).

After providing Jerome's opinion, in the form of a lengthy quotation, on what youths should eat and drink (65-67), Vives writes: "Haec omnia ex Divo Hieronymo. Quae adduxi ut sciretur quid magister ille continentiae sentiret" (66). ("This all comes from St. Jerome. I have introduced it to make known that master's thoughts on continence" [67]). Indeed, this is why Vives has introduced the ideas and sayings of all his other authorities, whether they be Plato, Cicero, Publilius Syrus, Ovid, the Scriptures, or the Church Fathers. What they have to say consolidates a woman's knowledge about chastity and lends greater credibility to Vives' precepts for chaste conduct, whether he urges women to shun cosmetics and dancing, to take up sewing and cooking, or to leave match-making to their parents. The *sententiae* that he quotes or paraphrases are part of his overall rhetorical strategy. He has brought to bear

<sup>40</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975), p. 198.

the sources of Western wisdom upon women as part of the proof of his case for chastity. The ultimate justification for literacy among women is that they will be able to read the works prized by the Renaissance humanists and find therein a simple message stated in many different ways: a woman must be chaste, and she must live her chastity by, among other things, confining herself to a quiet, secluded, and plain existence within the confines of her parental home until such time as her parents find her a husband. The humanist slogan *ad fontes* had special significance for women.

## 6. *Exempla*

Vives tells his readers: “Plena est exemplorum historia, plenus vitae communis usus” (60). (“History is full of examples, as is the common experience of life” [61]). As influential as *sententiae* are, they do not suffice in making Vives’ case. He must also influence women with *exempla*, drawn from mythology and history and recorded in classical, scriptural, and patristic sources. Precepts can be taught more authoritatively and accepted more willingly if accompanied by examples worthy of admiration and imitation.

On occasion, Vives teaches chastity from the example of men. He provides some macabre details of men who killed their daughters for chastity’s sake. Ovid’s *Ibis* tells of the Athenian Hippomenes. After his daughter had been deprived of her virginity, he allowed a horse, mad with hunger, to tear her to pieces. Valerius Maximus provides Vives with accounts of Pontius Aufedianus, Publius Attilius Filiscus, and Lucius Verginius. The first two killed their daughters in punishment for the loss of their virginity. The third made a sacrificial victim of his daughter to save her “ne Decemviri libidini servire cogeretur” (60) (“so that she would not be forced to serve the decemvir’s lust” [61]).

Quite appropriately, women are Vives’ key witnesses for chastity. Brasilla, “Dyrrachina primaria virgo” (“a virgin of noble birth from Dyrrachium”), adds to the theme of “chastity or death” in the *De institutione*. She appears as one of the countless women “quae iugulari se, quae caedi, truncari, suffocari, mergi, secari, exuri facile sunt passae, ac libenter, dum pudicitiam tuentur” (122) (“who readily and willingly allowed themselves to have their throats cut, be slain, dismembered,

suffocated, drowned, cut to pieces, burned alive, as long they could preserve their chastity" [123]). A soldier agreed to respect Brasilla's virginity in exchange for an herb whose juice, when smeared on his body, would render all weapons harmless against him. She invited him to test the alleged powers of the herb on her own neck and consequently tricked him into killing her (123-25). Vives proceeds to note that both Jerome and Ambrose seem to condone suicide for protecting a woman's virginity (125).

Ambrose provides the example of Thecla, who was able to tame wild beasts since they respected her virginity (59). Vives esteems Penelope for going out to meet her suitors with two reliable female companions, and not on her own (129-31). Lavinia in Virgil's *Aeneid* says not a word as her parents speak to her future spouse (177-79). Although Vives takes most of his exemplary women from history or mythology, he presents a few contemporaries as women who deserve admiration. Vives praises his patron Catherine of Aragon as the pattern of all virtues required in a woman (11). As we learn in book 2 of the *De institutione*, Clara Cervent, Vives' mother-in-law, was devoted to her syphilitic husband, Bernard Valdaura; Vives' mother Blanca was a model of marital harmony; and the wife of Guillaume Budé valued his scholarship and treated his books with the same care as their children.<sup>41</sup>

Vives also presents women worthy of admiration and imitation in the form of lists or catalogues. By the sixteenth century, the catalogue of remarkable women, often remarkable for their learning, had become a commonplace in literature, "un véritable poncif littéraire" according to Berriot-Salvadore.<sup>42</sup> The origins of this commonplace lie in the ancient world. In the *Moralia*, Plutarch included an essay on women of valor and of other virtues known to sixteenth-century Latin readers

<sup>41</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, pp. 43-47, 65, 67. Vives' reference to Clara Cervent may be placed in the context of the belief in the Renaissance that sexual intercourse with a virgin could cure a man of syphilis. See Winfried Schleiner, "Infection and Cure through Women: Renaissance Constructions of Syphilis", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 499-517 (pp. 506-8). Vives felt obliged to defend his references to his mother — he mentions her a second time in book 2 (*De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, p. 169) — against Erasmus. See Allen 7, 77-78, ep. 1830, lines 16-19; 108, ep. 1847, lines 48-60. On the Spanish background of Vives' praise of Clara Cervent and his mother, see Papy, pp. 757-760.

<sup>42</sup> Berriot-Salvadore, p. 345.



as *Mulierum virtutes* (242E-263D). He recounts the deeds first of women of various cities and regions in the ancient world and then discusses individual women. Jerome's *Adversus Iovinianum* contains what he calls a "catalogus feminarum" ("catalogue of women").<sup>43</sup> Vives was familiar with both sources. From the *Mulierum virtutes* he takes the account of the women of Miletus who overcame their suicidal mania only when threatened with having their dead bodies dragged naked through the forum (249B-D). He comments: "O pudorem incredibilem et praedicandum! Quae mortem, malorum ultimum, contemnebant pudorem etiam in mortuo corpore curabant" (130). ("What incredible and laudable modesty! Those who despised death, the last of all evils, had concern for modesty even in their dead body" [131]). Earlier in the *De institutione*, he reproduces a very substantial excerpt (119-23) of Jerome's catalogue that provides examples of many women "quae vitae quoque maluerint iacturam facere quam pudicitiae" (118) ("who preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than their chastity" [119]).

As Berriot-Salvadore points out, the main significance of these catalogues is what they reveal to us of their author's intentions.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch wanted to prove "the proposition that the virtue of men and women is the same not by logical demonstration but by historical example".<sup>45</sup> Jerome's catalogue of virgins and widows elevates chastity as abstinence from sexual relations above marriage. In the Renaissance, Boccaccio carried on the tradition with his *De claris mulieribus*, upon which Renaissance misogynists and defenders of women drew. His forty-six female biographies praise women who are exceptions to their sex, women who have risen above those to whom nature has given weak bodies and dim minds.<sup>46</sup> In her *Livre de la cité des dames*, Christine de Pisan borrowed extensively from Boccaccio but, "casting out all of Boccaccio's notions of the manly and "exceptional" character of women's historic achievements, used his biographies to validate a wholly positive notion of women's nature".<sup>47</sup> François de Billon's *Fort inexpugnable de*

<sup>43</sup> PL 23, 276B. For the catalogue see PL 23, 270A-276B.

<sup>44</sup> Berriot-Salvadore, p. 345.

<sup>45</sup> Philip A. Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods. An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Vittore Branca (Verona, 1964-), 10, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1470-1789", in Kelly, *Women, History and Theory. The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 65-109 (p. 84).

*l'honneur du sexe féminin* (1555) is a triumph of French national sentiment embodied in the learned women of France.<sup>48</sup>

Vives' catalogues of remarkable women reinforce the value of chastity. The longest of these catalogues appears in chapter 4. Here Vives is defending the education of women by listing a series of learned women, but in most cases, a woman's learning accompanies her chastity. The list begins with Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, "pudicitiae exemplar" (30) ("a model of chastity" [31]) who taught chastity to her children. Vives also mentions "Cleobulina Cleobuli unius ex Septem sapientibus filia, quae tam dedita litteris et sapientiae vixit, ut Venerem omnem aspernata virgo permanserit" (32) ("Cleobulina, daughter of Cleobulus, one of the seven sages, who spent her life so dedicated to literature and wisdom that she abstained from all carnal pleasure and remained a virgin" [33]). Other learned women remarkable for their virginity or chastity include Theano of Metapontum, the Sibyls, and the Pythian priestess at Delphi (33). Polla Argentaria, Lucan's wife, "quae marito mortuo Pharsaliae opus emendavit, etiam adiutasse in scribendo virum dicitur, insignis genere, opibus, forma, ingenio, pudicitia" (34) ("who corrected the *Pharsalia* after her husband's death, is said also to have helped him in the writing of it. She was a woman of noble lineage, substance, beauty, talent and virtue" [35]). Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, was both scholarly and possessed of an "incredibilis continentia" (34) ("extraordinary continence" [35]). Having listed the examples of many pagan women, Vives asks rhetorically why he should speak of Christian women, but he obviously does not want to pass over Christian examples. He mentions Thecla, Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, Catherine of Siena, and the correspondents of Jerome: Paula, Laeta, Eustochium, Fabiola, Marcella, Furia, Demetrias, Salvina, and Herontia (35-37).

This catalogue of the learned and the chaste may exist not only for Vives' female readership but also for men who fear the effects that an education will have on women. These sceptics have nothing to fear, however, for the *De institutione* conveys an important message: education undergirds traditional values in women; it does not liberate women from the imperative to be chaste, silent, and obedient. Other, shorter catalogues have the same function. Lucretia, Hannah, wife of Elkanah and mother of Samuel, Penelope, and the queens of Macedonia and Epirus

<sup>48</sup> Berriot-Salvadore, p. 359.

give women an example of the dignity of working with wool. Queen Isabella of Castille wanted her four daughters to be proficient at sewing (23). In book 2 of the *De institutione*, Vives provides catalogues of wives, with Lucretia at their head, who valued chastity more than life and of wives who in fidelity to their husbands followed them into exile.<sup>49</sup>

Towering above all women stood the Virgin Mary. Her cult had proliferated in the later Middle Ages, yet in the sixteenth century, especially within the context of confessional strife, devotion to Mary acquired new vitality “through a concerted didactic program”.<sup>50</sup> With classicizing embellishments Vives celebrated Mary in the *Virginis Dei parentis ovatio*. She is the leader of the true Amazons, the virgins who follow her. Using a military metaphor, Vives calls her the “Imperatrix Puella” (“girl general”) who triumphed over Venus. To contemplate and reflect upon the “dulcissima Virgo” (“the most sweet Virgin”) fortifies us “contra frigus extinctarum virtutum” (“against the chill of extinct virtues”).<sup>51</sup> A generation later in his prayer-book the *Excitationes animi in Deum* (1535), Vives includes two prayers to Mary. One addresses her as “felicissima et beatissima generis humani” (“the most happy and most blessed member of the human race”), the other as “O vere germaneque heroina ac semidea” (“O true and genuine heroine and demigoddess”).<sup>52</sup>

The *De institutione* praises Mary as most holy, most noble, most beautiful, most intelligent, most learned, and most wise. It bids women to imitate and to follow this most wonderful of women (108). Vives commands his female reader to imitate Christ and his mother instead of wearing jewelry:

imitare cuius merito gaudes nomine cognominari, Christum; imitare tenuem et frugalem eius Matrem, quam nunc Dominam homines colunt, inferi tremunt, superi reverentur; cuius ut exterior vestis ex vulgari et parabili erat panno, sic interior ille vestitus speciosissimo auro et gemmis distinctus atque intertextus (84).

Imitate the one in whose name you rightly glory, Christ; imitate his humble and frugal mother, whom men now worship as their lady, before whom those below stand in trembling and those above in

<sup>49</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, pp. 17-21.

<sup>50</sup> Barriot-Salvadore, p. 283.

<sup>51</sup> Vives, *Early Writings* 2, pp. 73-74. Papy, pp. 747-749 elaborates the moral-didactic function of the Biblical *exempla* of women in the medieval books of hours and Mirror-literature.

<sup>52</sup> VOO 1, 127.

reverential awe. Though her outward garb was made of common and cheap material, her inner vesture is of the most beautiful gold, set and interwoven with precious stones (85).

She becomes a model of silence, for she probably was occupied with silent prayer or reading when Gabriel unsettled her with his greeting (107). A young unmarried woman will only be a sincere imitator of Mary if she rejects vice and embraces virtue:

Vere igitur sit puella quod prae se ostendit — modesta, humilis, pudica, pudibunda, proba — et esse eam talem convenit et videri. Ita Divae Virgini, quam vere atque expresse vita sua repraesentabit, acceptior facta, tum Christo, qui dignam se sponsam agnoscet (110).

Therefore the young woman should be in very fact what she appears to be externally. She must both appear and be humble, chaste, modest and upright. In that way she will become more acceptable to the Blessed Virgin, of whom her life will be the true and exact reproduction, and to Christ as well, who will acknowledge in her a spouse worthy of him (111).

Collecting examples of worthy virgins for imitation, a young woman will give precedence to Mary, "cuius vitam non solae virgines habent tamquam exemplar propositum ad quod se componant effingantque, sed nuptae etiam ac viduae" (116) ("whose life should be the exemplar not only for virgins to follow but for married women and widows as well" [117]). Virgins who wish to safeguard their chastity, wives who seek to please their husbands, and widows who look for consolation, advice for raising their children, and a pattern for the remainder of their lives should imitate Mary (119). Vives' didactic purpose is clear. Mary is the principal exemplar of all the virtues that should be found in a chaste woman. He does not pause to consider, however, that, given her sinless status and her unique place in Christian history as both virgin and mother, she is actually "a model of unattainable perfection".<sup>53</sup> This is either because of Mary's usefulness as a paradigm for female virtue or, which is more likely, because of Vives' genuine belief that women could pattern their lives after Mary as far as humanly possible.

<sup>53</sup> Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman. A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 23.

## 7. Rhetoric of Reproach

In his vast survey of the academic disciplines, the *De disciplinis* (1531), Vives adheres to the classical aims of rhetoric: “docere, persuadere, movere” (“to teach, to persuade, and to move or stimulate the emotions”).<sup>54</sup> In his treatise on rhetoric, the *De ratione dicendi* (1532), he distinguishes between the goal of speech and that of the speaker. He emphasizes the teaching function of rhetoric by stating that speaking really has only one goal: “explicare” (“to explain”). The speaker has three: “probare, movere, animum oratione pascere” (“to prove, to move, and to feed the soul with speech”). This third goal he also calls “detinere”: to hold one’s audience’s attention.<sup>55</sup>

Vives’ main rhetorical objective in the *De institutione* is to teach the precepts of chastity. He seeks to persuade his putative female readership of the importance of following these precepts in part through reliance upon authoritative opinions and examples. The use of *sententiae* and *exempla* also points to another significant aspect of Vives’ rhetorical theory: *decorum*, the adaptation or accommodation of discourse to the speaker (or, in Vives’ case, the writer), the audience, the topic for discussion, and the place in which speaker and audience meet.<sup>56</sup> Although Vives in the *De ratione dicendi* does not specifically consider what is appropriate for a female audience, his appeal to the humanist *fontes* suggests that women are sufficiently intelligent to understand and accept the authority of texts, and it accords with his own belief that women should be educated. Yet the pervasive rhetorical tone does not suggest a pleasant meeting of minds. Vives adapts his discourse for a female audience in constant need of reproach and stern admonition.

Often Vives’ sources contribute to his rhetoric of reproach. Cicero’s criticism of dancing and Jerome’s condemnation of cosmetics quoted above serve as examples of this. The use of Scripture as a form of reproach is also one of Vives’ stock rhetorical tools. It is likely the product of his austere religious outlook. He writes: “Sancta est et severa Christiana pietas, cuius ut iugum animabus est facile, dulce, suave et in quo est eis requies, ita grave ac molestum corporis voluptatibus, cum quibus perpetua est illi pugna” (70-72). (“Christian piety is holy and

<sup>54</sup> VOO 6, 357.

<sup>55</sup> VOO 2, 157.

<sup>56</sup> Vives devotes a substantial chapter (VOO 2, 173-96) to *decorum* in the *De ratione dicendi*.

severe and while its yoke is easy, sweet and pleasant to the soul, which finds its rest in it, it is heavy and troublesome to the pleasures of the body, with which it is in continuous conflict" [71-73]). The Bible becomes a rhetorical weapon with which to attack women's natural inclination to pleasure. A woman's sole business is to preserve her chastity, but given Vives' frequent harangues against women, it seems that he believes that women are not likely to be chaste without repeated reminders.

Since Vives in book 1 is addressing virgins primarily, he tells them what virginity is. It is not merely a physical quality but, more important, a state of mind, of integrity and purity. Women who have had no experience of sex but whose minds are impure do not deserve to be called virgins. Bending Scripture to his own purpose, Vives says that Jesus calls them foolish virgins (Matthew 25: 2), "*quae non aliter virgines sunt quam mortuae vel depictae*" (54) ("who are no more like virgins than if they were dead or painted" [55]).<sup>57</sup>

Women should be aware of Jesus' saying that men who have looked lustfully at women have already committed adultery with them in their hearts (Matthew 5: 28). Vives demands: "*An non etiam de muliere virum intuentes putas dictum?*" (146) ("Do you not think that this saying also applies to a woman looking at a man?" [147]) Women who enjoy wearing make-up and fine clothes invite God's wrath upon themselves. To confirm this Vives quotes Isaiah 3: 16-24, intending for them God's punishment of the daughters of Zion:

*Pro eo quod elevatae sunt filiae Sion et ambulaverunt extento collo et nutibus oculorum ibant et plaudebant et ambulabant et pedibus suis composito gradu incedebant cum calceolis squamatis, decalvabit Dominus verticem filiarum Sion et turpitudinem earum nudabit et pro ornamento erit ignominia. In die illa auferet Dominus ornamentum calceamentorum et lunulas et torques et monilia et armillas et mitras et discriminalia et perischelides et murenulas et olfactoriola et innares et annulos et gemmas in fronte pendentes et mutatoria et pallia et lintamina et acus et specula et sindones et vittas et theristra. Et pro suavi odore foetor et pro zona funiculus et pro crispanti et compto crine calvitium, et pro fascia petorali cilicium* (92)

Because the daughters of Zion are haughty and walked with outstretched necks and went about with wanton looks, mincing along

<sup>57</sup> The virgins in the Gospel passage, however, are foolish not because they are unchaste but because they were not prepared to meet the bridegroom at his wedding feast.

with measured step, with scaly shoes, the Lord will lay bare the heads of the daughters of Zion and will expose their baseness and in place of adornment there will be ignominy. In that day the Lord will take away the finery of their anklets, their crescents and necklaces and pendants and bracelets and turbans and head-dress and leg-bands and amulets and perfume-boxes and earrings and rings and jewels hanging from their foreheads and capes and mantles and linens and pins and mirrors and muslins and head-bands and summer garments. And instead of a sweet fragrance there will be a stench and instead of a girdle a rope and instead of curly and well-kept hair baldness and instead of rich robes a haircloth (93).

Later Vives, quoting from Jeremiah 3: 3, points out: “Exsecratur dominus impudicam, dicens: “Frons mulieris meretricis tibi facta est, depudit te”” (112). (“The Lord curses the unchaste woman, saying: “Your brow has become that of a prostitute, you have lost all shame”” [113]).

Although he relentlessly thunders away at women’s desire to wear cosmetics and jewelry, Vives does not limit his rhetoric of reproach to female adornment. He criticizes women for their endless prattling (19), their neglect of the kitchen and of the gustatory preferences of their loved ones (25). Vives rails against women who honor Saints Catherine, Agnes, Barbara and the Virgin Mary in their prayers but do not follow their example of virginity. He declares: “Ego vero id serio dico, neque enim hic est iocandi locus, edicto publico deberet caveri ne qua manifesto impudica mulier Maria nominaretur” (124). (“I say in all seriousness, for this is no time for pleasantries, that it should be forbidden by public decree that any overtly unchaste woman should be called Mary” [125]). Towards the end of book 1 of the *De institutione*, he lashes out at women who would rather marry a wealthy man than a virtuous one. (187). The criticisms continue in books 2 and 3. A woman who does not obey her husband is out of her mind: “demens”. Those who see the death of a husband as a form of liberation are mentally blind, while women who speak ill of their deceased husbands are insane.<sup>58</sup>

Vives’ female readers find themselves addressed as fools or as wicked women. “Stulta” (162) (“stupid girl” [162]), asks Vives, do you really think you are beautiful because your lover says so? “Insana” (204) (“foolish girl” [205]), begins another question, are you not aware that many women have fallen in love with men whom they thought would

<sup>58</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, pp. 32, 204, 216.

become their husbands but who were merely interested in taking advantage of them sexually? In the second edition of the *De institutione*, Vives amplified his criticism of stupid women ("O stultas") in the first edition to read: "O insanas et vecordes puellas, quae vel formosos vel locupletes vel nobiles bonis praefertis!" (184) ("O senseless and foolish girls who prefer handsome, rich or noble spouses to good ones" [185]). Vives denounces women as "nefariae" and "sceleratae" ("wicked") if they have no respect for their virginity and do not fear losing it (58), or who honor sainted virgins but are not chaste themselves (124). In his attack on female adornment, he enters into an imaginary dispute with an apologist for adornment, "aliqua fastidiosola" ("some squeamish little lady"), whom he also addresses as "superbissima femina" (86) ("most conceited woman").<sup>59</sup> Women, or should Vives say "stinking carrion", are responsible for corrupting much of "our", i.e. male, youth: "Dici non potest quantum nobis iuventutis partem eiusmodi corrumpant mulieresne appellem an olida morticina?" (188) He is quite sure that women involved in love affairs before marriage are not very different from prostitutes (206). Sometimes he mixes scorn with pity when he addresses his readers individually or collectively as "misera" (144, 194) or "miserae" (192, 202).

On one occasion, Vives apostrophizes his female reader as "scelerata" (170)<sup>60</sup> when he asks her to consider that by tricking a man into loving her she is subjecting him to the devil. He then pronounces this judgment: "ille ardebit quia victus diabolo et tu quia diabolo victrix? Uterque stipendia meret peccati ampla. 'Stipendium autem peccati,' quemadmodum testificatur Apostolus, 'mors'" (170). ("He will burn because he was defeated by the devil and you because you were victorious thanks to the devil. Each of you will merit ample reward for your sin. 'The wages of sin is death' as the Apostle testifies" [171]). This passage is significant for two reasons. Not only does Vives employ Scripture — the quotation is from Romans 6: 23 — as a rhetorical weapon of terror here, he also associates women with the devil. Vives reminds his female reader that her mother Eve brought about the fall of (male) man: "An non meministi matrem tuam Evam viro fuisse causam ruinae?" (96) Women are not only accomplices after the fact in man's

<sup>59</sup> Here I have preferred my own translations to those of Fantazzi: "some sophisticated woman", "haughty woman" (87).

<sup>60</sup> Fantazzi incorrectly translates "scelerata" as "foolish girl" (171).



fall from grace; they also serve as allies of the devil. What Lyndal Roper writes of the exorcism of women in Augsburg in the last half of the sixteenth century may be applied to Vives' world of ideas in the first half of the century: "Women were believed to be closer to the Devil, and they were therefore more subject to temptation and more enslaved to their physical natures than men were".<sup>61</sup>

For Vives, women's association with the devil did not for the most part seem to entail witchcraft. Only once does he think of witches when he warns young women against falling prey to procuresses. Some of these women destroy their victims with a single powerfully poisonous glance; others make use of spells and incantations: "*oculis praesentissimum venenum inspirant et vel solo intuitu perimunt...aliae etiam fascinis et incantationibus utuntur*" (104).

Women by virtue of being women were easy prey for the devil and were therefore more likely to be his agents than men. A revealing passage in Vives' advice about how women should comport themselves in the dangerous arena of public life provides evidence that he thought that women were by nature the tools of Satan: "*Non solum ipsa peccare non debet, sed, quantum potest, praestare ne causa sit aliis et incitamentum peccati, alioqui membrum erit eius diaboli cuius est et instrumentum, non Christi*" (128). ("Not only must she not sin herself but she must, as far as possible, be responsible for seeing that she is not a cause or incitement to sin for others. Otherwise she will be a member of the devil, whose instrument she already is, not of Christ" [129]). Vives cautions women that idleness is an ideal means for subjugation to the devil (73), but he is more worried about the harm they can do to others than the injury they cause themselves as a result of sinning. They are particularly dangerous when they adorn themselves. Vives quotes Fulgentius to the effect that, by wearing fine clothes, women entice men and clear the path for the evil one to enter (95). To the woman who stubbornly adheres to the pomps of Satan Vives issues this rebuke: "*Totam te specta, Satanae satellitem agnosces*" (84). ("Look at yourself from head to foot. You will recognize a follower of Satan" [85]). On the attack again, he remonstrates: "*Tu ergo simul superbiae tuae servies et diaboli retia in tuo corpore ad inspectantium animas capiendas extendes? O non*

<sup>61</sup> Lyndal Roper, "Exorcism and the Theology of the Body", in Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1994), pp. 171-98 (p. 190).

feminam Christianam, sed diaboli ministram et satellitem!" (92) ("Therefore at one and the same time you will be a slave of your vanity and will spread the nets of the devil in your body to capture the souls of those who look upon you. You are no Christian woman but the servant and accomplice of the devil!" [93]) Once women enslave men to the devil by their charms, they will not be able to save them (97).

It is interesting to note that in books 2 and 3 of the *De institutione*, the rhetoric of reproach subsides somewhat. On occasion, Vives can imagine his female audience to be virtuous; he can address himself to a woman who is "honest," "prudens," "sancta".<sup>62</sup> He even ventures to disagree with Jerome that rich women are not necessarily intolerable.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the invective against women, while less frequent than in book 1, is still conspicuous in books 2 and 3. Vives explains why he provides several illustrious examples of women who chose death over surviving a deceased husband. He wishes to disgrace women who do not demonstrate the most common virtues: "Haec maxima proposui ut saltem mediocria non prestare pudori sit". Imagining unidentified women who prefer not to use their money to ransom their husbands, Vives erupts: "O animum quavis fera immaniolem!" ("O soul more ruthless than a wild beast!")<sup>64</sup> He rehearses the dire consequences of a woman's infidelity to her husband, and he calls women "stupid" who do not know that it is a pleasure more sound and true to have husbands who are wise instead of those who are wealthy or addicted to pleasure: "Stultae ignorant quanto solidior et verior est voluptas ex gloria, quod maritis fruantur sapientibus quam opulentis aut deliciosis".<sup>65</sup> Of women who accuse their husbands of jealousy and so ruin their husbands' public reputations, Vives asks: "Sunt hae mulieres an viperae? Uxores an hostes?" ("Are these women or vipers? wives or enemies?") He apostrophizes his female reader as ungrateful — "O ingrata mulier" — for not acknowledging as a gift from God that she has borne no children or that her children have died before they could cause her grief.<sup>66</sup> Women who do not show affection to their stepchildren become the targets of Vives' rhetorical wrath. Widows eager to remarry are subjected to his sarcasm. Who would not have contempt for a woman who, after announcing her

<sup>62</sup> *De institutione feminae christianae, liber secundus & tertius*, pp. 4, 18, 162, 200.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13, 66 (quotation).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97 (quotations); 152.

intention to remarry and rejecting Christ her spouse, first marries the devil and then a man, acting at the same time as widow, wife, and adulteress?<sup>67</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

Now that Vives' rhetorical strategies for inculcating chastity for women are clear, we may still ask why he chose them. It may seem puzzling how Vives' angry rhetorical outbursts would influence women to embrace chastity. Nothing in his discussion of *decorum* in the *De ratione dicendi* justifies reproaching one's audience. Indeed, he cautions young men against presuming to teach their elders when addressing them or disdainful of their authority. He also lays down the principle that speech should adapt itself to the moral character of its audience and proceeds to provide this advice: "superciliosi, morosi, suspicaces, irritabiles, blande tractandi, et tamquam molli articulo" ("people who are disdainful, peevish, distrustful, and irritable must be treated gently, and as if with a delicate touch").<sup>68</sup>

Given that Vives denies women any public function, the *De institutione*, writes George, "systematically excludes females from arenas where persuasion is a needed gift". Women neither need the eloquence to persuade, nor, it seems, ought they be persuaded. Thus George concludes: "the gratuitous invective does not come across as a device for persuading so much as intimidating the female target".<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, at times, Vives is able to follow his own advice about decorous speech when he exhorts women to make the Virgin Mary their model or when he encourages them to value virtue above all in a future husband: "Considera mihi...quae confabulationes sint cum ingenioso et prudente, ut nullum suaviorem concentum inveniri posse constet sermone hominis eiusmodi et eo magis si accedat facundia" (194). ("Consider...what conversations you will enjoy with a gifted and prudent man, such that no sweeter harmony could be found than the speech of this man, and all the more if added to that is the gift of eloquence" [195]). He can beautifully describe marriage as a union of hearts, as a

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 218.

<sup>68</sup> VOO 2, 177, 179.

<sup>69</sup> George, "Persuading a Feminine Audience?", pp. 108, 110.

worthy companionship (209). These rhetorical blandishments do not obscure, however, the polemical tone with which Vives frequently addresses his female audience.

This female audience is the key to understanding the rhetoric of reproach in the *De institutione*. In the preface, Vives writes: "Sanctas feminas leviter tantum officii sui admonui, ceteras interdum paulo castigavi acrius, quod viderem documenta sola parum proficere in iis quae ducenti reluctantur et invitae fere trahendae sunt quo oportet" (8). ("To holy women I have merely given gentle advice concerning their duties. Others I have chastised a bit severely at times because I saw that precepts alone are of little benefit to those who resist one who guides them and must be dragged along almost against their will to their proper goal" [9]). The rhetorical chastisement is more prominent than the gentle advice. Vives rarely seems to have holy women in mind. George observes: "the good female readers are virtually as vulnerable to the accusations in the gratuitous invectives as are the wicked".<sup>70</sup>

At the end of May 1527, Erasmus wrote to Vives and expressed his approval of the *De institutione*, especially what he wrote about marriage. Yet he thought that Vives was rather harsh on wives and hoped that he treated his own wife with greater kindness: "In matrimonio durior videbaris in vxores; opinor in tuam te magis comem esse".<sup>71</sup> Vives did not think this criticism was justified. He replied: "Foeminas ais a me durius tractatas: hoc tu dicis, homo qui nobis Hieronymum restitueris? Quid muliere effrenius? Si paulum modo habenas remittas, ibi vero nullus erit modus aut moderatio".<sup>72</sup> ("Do you say that women have been handled rather harshly by me? Are you saying this, the man who restored Jerome for us? What is more unbridled than a woman? If you loosen the reins only a little, then indeed there will be no limit or restraint".)

Vives' reply to Erasmus and the *De institutione* itself suggest that severity should inform discourse for women, that reproach is appropriate when addressing them. Since, according to Vives, women are by nature inclined towards pleasure (15), mentally unstable (19), weak, indecisive, and easily deceived (41), they obviously need to be admonished severely and repeatedly so that they will never forget their sole calling: chastity.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>71</sup> Allen 7, 77, ep. 1830, lines 11, 15-16 (quotation). On Erasmus and his criticism of "the medieval style" of Vives' treatise, see Papy, p. 763.

<sup>72</sup> Allen 7, 107, ep. 1847, lines 38-40.

Consequently, Vives' rhetoric of reproach makes perfect sense from his own point of view. George thus rightly associates the invective of the *De institutione* with the principle of *decorum*:

Following the clue of Vives' own recognized emphasis on *decorum*, we have uncovered an addendum to his theory of rhetoric: women, especially young women, may be dealt with by quite harsh means, including gratuitous intimations of guilt, in confidence that for the management of this constituency persuasion is not the last resort.<sup>73</sup>

Given Vives' rhetorical tone, it is difficult to agree with Ruth Kelso's assessment that Vives "must be listed among the friends of women, for he takes them seriously".<sup>74</sup> True enough, he wishes to protect young unmarried women from the corrupting influences of men and to have wives enjoy a happy marriage, yet his good intentions and precepts are products of his primary goal in the *De institutione*. Above all it is chastity that he takes seriously. Although Vives prepares the way for women to approach the literature esteemed by the humanists, he does this for one narrow purpose. Through the use of the *sententiae* and *exempla* drawn from classical antiquity, the Bible, and the Church Fathers, and embedded in a rhetoric of reproach, Vives restricts a woman's interests to chastity and confines her to the domestic sphere under the watchful eyes of first her parents and then her husband. Even a widow should defer to the advice of a wise man.<sup>75</sup> For women Vives' *De institutione*, one of the most influential Renaissance treatises on women, represents, to borrow Joan Kelly's expression, a "Renaissance of Chastity," required of them by men and morality.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> George, "Persuading a Feminine Audience?", 111.

<sup>74</sup> Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana, Illinois, 1956), p. 17.

<sup>75</sup> VOO 4, 293.

<sup>76</sup> Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?", in Kelly, *Women, History and Theory. The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago, 1984) pp. 19-50 (p. 36).

Joseph A. DANE

ON METRICAL CONFUSION AND CONSENSUS IN EARLY  
EDITIONS OF TERENCE

*In memory of my friend, Carrie Saliers*

It is a commonplace among those who have studied the reception of Terence that during the Middle Ages, Terence's meter was not understood — many manuscripts, even very good ones, copied the text as prose, and some of the best scholars of this tradition occasionally imply that this was the case with nearly all medieval manuscripts of Terence.<sup>1</sup> The most important medieval imitators of Terence in the Middle Ages (Hrosvitha is the most obvious example) recognized the text as metrical, but could not analyze it, nor could they compose verse according to its implied rules. The wide use of Terence as a phrasebook for learning Latin (a record found in such works as *Vulgaria Terentia* and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*) left no place for meter, and may well have contributed to the metrical chaos by destabilizing source texts in the interest of syntactic clarity.<sup>2</sup>

References to the difficulty of these meters are common throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods and the often-quoted statement in the tenth-century fragment *Terentius et Delusor* has many variants: "An

<sup>1</sup> Sesto Prete, *Il codice di Terenzio Vaticano latino 3226: saggio critico e riproduzione del manoscritto* (Vatican, 1970), p. 12. Many manuscripts are only apparently prose; e.g., MS Vat. 1640 does not print verse as independent lines, but nonetheless retains the capitals from its apparent source, marking the initial words of each metrical line; Minton Warren, 'On the *Distinctio versuum* in the Manuscripts of Terence', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1900), 93-125, esp. 98.

<sup>2</sup> All incunables of Terence from Belgium and Holland, and three of the four English Terence incunables are of the *Vulgaria*; see most conveniently Dennis E. Rhodes, 'La publication des comédies de Térence au XVe siècle', in Pierre Aquilon et Henri-Jean Martin (eds.), *Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, Actes du XXVIII Colloque international d'Etudes humanistes de Tours* (Paris, 1988), checklist on p. 295. That schooltexts contributed to a deterioration in the text as early as Carolingian times is claimed by W. M. Lindsay, 'On the Text of Terence', *Classical Quarterly*, 19 (1925), 33-35.

sit prosaicum, nescio, an metricum".<sup>3</sup> Aldus's often-quoted criticism of the Lyons 1503 edition ("metra etiam confusa sunt omnia") is virtually a commonplace.<sup>4</sup> What the early humanists called metrical "confusion" involved various aspects of Terence's text, both what I will call colometry (the proper subject of this paper) as well as metrics, and to some extent prosody (the rules of quantity).<sup>5</sup> Colometry is simply the material representation of lines of verse as verse. Prosody and metrics are the implied rules and analysis that support that colometry — analysis indicated in sixteenth-century editions as headings and marginal notes identifying specific verse types.

Incunable editions of Terence quickly reveal the extent of such metrical confusion; few have what could be called the correct Terence colometry — that is to say, the modern editorial colometry — and several show colometry that is no better than random. Nothing even remotely similar to this metrical confusion can be found in the early editions of any other classical writer. The hexameters and elegiac couplets of Vergil, Ovid, and even Persius and Juvenal posed few problems for early printers. The more complex verse of Martial, Horace, Seneca in his tragedies, and even Plautus likewise appears to be properly lineated, although of these only the meters of Plautus could be said to pose difficulties equal to or greater than those found in Terence.<sup>6</sup>

The confusion over Terentian metrics vanishes abruptly at the end of the incunable period. Hardly a trace can be found in modern editions, where the subject of Terentian metrics is presented as largely settled, with disputes confined to matters of detail and analysis of specific metrical and prosodic rules (the rule of *brevis brevians*), and how one

<sup>3</sup> Text is available in E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 326-28. See discussion by Claudia Villa, *La "Lectura Terentii"*, vol. 1: *Da Ildemaro a Francesco Petrarca* (Padua, 1984), pp. 67-98, esp. 88, and references to later commentaries. The statement is taken from Priscian, *De metris Terentii*, who criticizes the 'ignoramus' who say this.

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Orlandi (ed.), *Aldo Manuzio editore*, 2 vols (Milan, 1976), I, 170-71, quoting *Aldi Monitum in Lugdunenses Typographos*. See further below, n. 43.

<sup>5</sup> See Jürgen Leonhardt, *Dimensio syllabarum: Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance* (Göttingen, 1989), esp. chap. 7: 'Metriktheorie in der italienischen Renaissance', pp. 154-81.

<sup>6</sup> The very popularity of Terence is in part responsible; there are fewer than 10 incunable editions of Seneca and Plautus, most of which I have seen. Of the far more numerous editions of Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Persius, and Virgil, my survey has been confined to those copies at the Huntington Library, approximately 20 % of the total.

should represent for a reader the suggested analysis of individual lines.<sup>7</sup> While this modern consensus seems to be a function of advances in the study of Terentian metrics — with the most important contributors being Erasmus, Bentley, and most recently, Laidlaw and Lindsay<sup>8</sup> — it can also be seen as the result of a consensus over what will constitute the colometry of Terence — a consensus that developed with great rapidity in the early sixteenth century. The following paper examines this metrical confusion and the rapid enforcement of a colometric standard ending this confusion. One of the arguments implied here is that well-known scholarly advances in the field of metrical analysis depend on a much quieter scholarly consensus on the pedestrian matter of colometry.

### Incunable Editions and their Implied Affiliations

Since Umpfenbach's edition in 1870, the textual-critical tradition has distinguished three main groups of Terence manuscripts: (1) A — the Bembo manuscript, which stands alone, (2) gamma, (3) delta. The features distinguishing these families are both internal (textual) and external (order of texts, presence or absence of illustrations).<sup>9</sup> The groups correspond to the simple order in which plays occur:

A: And Eun Ht Ph Hec Ad  
 delta: And Ad Eun Ph Ht Hec  
 gamma: And Eun Ht Ad Hec Ph

The first (A) is the chronological order. The delta order is the alphabetical order. The gamma order is explained variously: one ingenious explanation is that the A order was transmitted in two volumes, and that one copy simply reversed the order of the plays in volume 2.<sup>10</sup> Among

<sup>7</sup> See, e. g., Robert Kauer and Wallace M. Lindsay (ed.), *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae* (Oxford, 1926 and 1958), the Budé edition by J. Marouzeau, *Térence*, 3 vols (Paris, 1947), I, 56-70, and Sesto Prete, *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae* (Heidelberg, 1954).

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Laidlaw, *The Prosody of Terence: A Relational Study* (London, 1938), extending W. M. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1922).

<sup>9</sup> Fr. Umpfenbach, *Terenti Comoediae* (Berlin, 1870).

<sup>10</sup> For early history, see esp. Günther Jachmann, *Die Geschichte des Terentztextes im Altertum* (Basel, 1924), and in direct response, Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence, 1934), pp. 355-73. See also Sesto Prete, *Il codice bembino di Terenzio* (Vatican, 1950), pp. 77-95; J. D. Craig, *Ancient Editions of Terence* (London, 1929); the exceptionally lucid summary by Leslie Webber Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1931), II, 3-24; and most recently John N. Grant, *Studies in the Textual Tradition of Terence* (Toronto, 1986).



other gross features of these distinctions are the illustrations — well-known to anyone with even a passing interest in Terence. They occur in earliest manuscripts and recur throughout the manuscript tradition, finding their way into many of the earliest printed editions. They appear only in gamma manuscripts. The textual-critical concerns that are the basis of these groupings are not applicable to the majority of Terence manuscripts however.<sup>11</sup> Textual critics of Terence are primarily interested in an original text, or the earliest text, and thus in the earliest recoverable history of manuscripts. Thus Kauer relies on sixteen manuscripts; Marouzeau lists some thirty manuscripts. These are, by and large, the earliest manuscripts, and the head of the list is the Bembo manuscript (A). Villa's recent survey of Terence manuscripts, however, shows that these manuscripts are in no way representative; Villa lists some 700 manuscripts, the large majority of them fifteenth-century manuscripts, manuscripts rightly ignored by textual critics. Already in 1779, some 450 of these manuscripts had been identified.<sup>12</sup>

Early printed editions are an extension of this latter group of manuscripts. From a textual-critical point of view, the manuscript tradition is hopelessly contaminated by this time. Specific features distinguishing textual-critical groups (order of plays, illustrations, act and scene divisions) can easily be transmitted independently of the textual features associated with them. Printing increases the extent of contamination by making the process of collation simpler — readings from one source could be easily transferred to another. In addition, printing provided something completely new — a reproducible copy-text — different copies of the same edition could be used as the basis for new editions.

There are a number of surveys of early editions, the most extensive and detailed being H. W. Lawton's 1926 survey. From a bibliographical standpoint, the 1988 checklist by Dennis E. Rhodes is more accurate, as is of course the information in the *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* (although *ISTC* unaccountably does not include cross references to

<sup>11</sup> See esp. Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Terenzio, Ildemaro, Petrarca', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 17 (1974), 43.

<sup>12</sup> Villa, *Lectura*, pp. 295-454. The 1779 survey is contained in the edition of the Societas Bipontina; see Jones and Morey, *Miniatures*, p. 4. Marouzeau is useful, but so completely misrepresents such simple matters as play order through obvious proof-reading errors (e.g. p. 81), that any details of manuscript description would require confirmation elsewhere.

Lawton).<sup>13</sup> Lawton identified some 100 incunable editions, and another 400 sixteenth-century editions. Rhodes eliminated a few of Lawton's ghosts, and extended the list of incunables to 116. Rhodes's count is essentially what one finds in ISTC.<sup>14</sup>

In an appendix, Lawton listed these, where possible, in "series", although he does not define what he means by this. The notion of what such a series might be or should be depends on the particular copies contained in individual libraries and the particular reasons such series are sought out;<sup>15</sup> the problems are exacerbated by such undefined references as "like" and "resembles" found in the British Museum Catalogue. Obviously, the series defined in various catalogues will not always correspond. In general, Lawton means page-for-page reprints of earlier editions (these occur regularly with incunables); for sixteenth-century editions (such as Aldine) he includes within a series those that announce

<sup>13</sup> Harold Walter Lawton, *Térence en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Contribution à l'histoire de l'humanisme en France*, 2 vols (Paris, 1926), I, 63-251, and discussion pp. 279-333; Rhodes, 'Publication', pp. 292-96; *Illustrated Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue CD-ROM* (London, 1997). See also, *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Auteurs, 184 (Paris, 1957), s.v. *Térence*; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XV Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908-1962) [BMC], and Giovanni Cupaiuolo, *Bibliografia Terenziana (1470-1983)* (Naples, 1984), checklist of editions, pp. 37-138. The usual problems of collating information in these catalogues are compounded by competing systems of organization. Lawton and Cupaiuolo arrange editions by date (an extremely insecure basis) – one of many ways in which the information from the Illustrated ISTC CD-ROM can emerge. Rhodes organizes by date within regions; the BMC is committed to Proctor order (by region, city, and printer); the Bibliothèque Nationale author catalogue organizes editions by textual matters (presence or absence of commentaries), as does the brief and extremely useful index in Mead to his Proctor-based catalogue: Herman Ralph Mead, *Incunabula in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1937). For work based on American holdings, the most useful references are to Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: Third Census* (New York, 1964). I cite Goff numbers below when they are available, and ISTC and Lawton numbers when they are not. For sixteenth-century editions, I cite Lawton numbers.

<sup>14</sup> The number of actual copies these 116 editions caused to circulate in the fifteenth century might be no more than 5000, and it is not until the sixteenth century that printed editions could be said to overwhelm manuscript tradition. Rhodes is one of few to suggest such limited press runs. See the much-quoted and much-inflated estimates given in Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris, 1958), p. 377, estimates qualified in a note in later editions.

<sup>15</sup> On incunables, the study below is based on Huntington Library copies, supplemented by copies from Columbia University, University of California, Los Angeles, the Houghton Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and University Library, Cambridge. These represent over one-third of all incunable editions, and all of the incunable series noted by Lawton are represented, with the exception of series 2, consisting of two Milan editions by Zarotus (1476 and 1477; Lawton #24 and #28).

themselves as reeditions of earlier editions — here again, Lawton's criteria seem to be "page-for-page" reprint. But not all series can be so clearly defined. Editions clearly typeset from an edition in one series can be classified in a different series (examples from the sixteenth century will be discussed below). The 1494 Venice edition (T-92) has the colometry and text of series 5; its gloss and commentaries, however, are those found in series 7, where Lawton classifies it. And differences in the many editions from Paris and Lyons listed in Lawton's series 6 can be seen even in Lawton's own brief descriptions.<sup>16</sup> It is no criticism of Lawton to note this. No over-arching definition could usefully apply to all these editions, and such series as defined by Lawton and other catalogues can only serve as guides for discussion of specific relations between specific editions.

There are a number of factors that provide some gross distinctions among these early editions: verse vs. prose; the presence of illustrations; divisions into scenes and acts; the presence of commentaries. Some of these are simply chronological. The convention of dividing plays into acts and scenes develops gradually. The Padua edition of 1474 (T-68) gives acts, as does the Lyons edition of 1493 (T-91). Act and scene numbers are given in the Leipzig edition of 1503/4 (Lawton #110) and possibly occur earlier. For the purposes here, one of the most useful distinctions concerns the order of the plays and the relation of that order to the presence of commentaries, particularly the Donatus commentary. Fifteenth-century editions follow two orders, and I believe there are no exceptions:

And Eun Ht Ad Hec Ph  
And Eun Ht Ad Ph Hec

These are apparent variants of the gamma order defined in textual-criticism, and both orders can be found in printed Terences up through the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> From the brief table below, the relation of

<sup>16</sup> Lawton, pp. 271-78. For the incunable series, there are obvious relations between Lawton's series 1 (each edition of 100 fols.) and series 2 (of 96 fols.). The B.N. has only one example of Lawton's series 2 and includes it within a series closely matching Lawton's series 1. Cf. the first series defined in the B.N. catalogue (s.v. *Térence*, col. 186-89, B.N. #8-12 = Lawton, series 1, one of the closer matches contained in a library to one of Lawton's incunable series).

<sup>17</sup> The distinction between the two orders in late manuscripts is noted by Billanovich, 'Terenzio, Ildemaro, Petrarca', p. 38, and mentioned in passing by John N. Grant, 'Pietro Bembo and Vat. Lat. 3226', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 37 (1988), 220. The order Ph-Hec is also given in the *Terentius et Delusor*; see Villa, *Lectura Terentii*, p. 24.

these orders to the commentary is immediately apparent: in the early editions, the orders alternate.<sup>18</sup> Once the Donatus commentary is added (the earliest example in my survey is the 1476 Venice edition, T-73), editions containing that commentary or those that replaced it (the commentary of Guido Juvenalis) become closely associated with the Ph-Hec order. There are no exceptions in the Huntington incunables with commentary, nor are there any apparent exceptions in the B.N. catalogue entries #28-48, although the information here is not always detailed.<sup>19</sup>

The copies examined here confirm the various series found in Lawton, and based on the representation of verse suggest others. With the exception of the earliest edition (the Mentelin edition, once considered the *editio princeps*), each of the editions in the Huntington collection is either a member of one of Lawton's series or clearly related to another edition in the collection. The best colometry is found in the early Zovenzonius editions (Lawton's series 1). Close to this is the colometry shown in the 1474 Padua edition, the 1475 Sant' Orso edition, and the 1481 Milan edition (T-68, T-70, T-78, Lawton #14, #18, and #40, each of 104 ff.), although the order of plays in the last edition differs. In addition, the two Rome editions, each in prose and edited by Angelus Sabinus show, as expected, a clear relation (T-66 and T-69; Lawton #10=11 and #47). Other relations are suggested from the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue, and a few of Lawton's series confirmed by the British Museum Catalogue.<sup>20</sup> Of great importance is the relation of the commentary to the text. In all the incunable editions, the commentaries, whether by Donatus, or later commentaries by Guido, exert a noticeable conservative influence on the text. Bad colometry is never improved in any of the

<sup>18</sup> The phenomenon can be seen at a glance in the entries of the B.N. catalogue; see s.v. *Térence*, entries 7-27 for editions without commentary. The Huntington collection shows the same alternation in the earliest editions.

<sup>19</sup> Some of the earliest editions without commentary may have been affected by the order in Donatus; see e. g. Padua 1474 (T-68) citing Donatus in the introduction.

<sup>20</sup> The B.N. catalogue strongly suggests a relation the 1477 Treviso edition (T-75; B.N. 29 = Lawton #29) and three Venice editions of 1476, 1482, and 1483 (B.N. 28, 31 and 32; Lawton #25, #45 and #48; T-73, it00080300, it00080500). Lawton thought the Treviso edition (T-75) might be a copy of the 1476 edition (T-73). In addition, The Lyons edition of 1488 (T-85, Lawton #63) has a colometry identical to the Treviso edition (T-75, Lawton #29). Lawton gives this as a cross-reference in his catalogue. The British Museum Catalogue also confirms some of Lawton's series, but references are often vague. BMC VI, 748 and V, 158, 165 says the 1480 Milan edition (it00077500, Lawton #36) "resembles" the 1471 Venice edition of de Spira (T-61), which in turn is "like" the 1483 de Spira edition (T-67); what BMC means by this is not at all clear.

series, nor is there a noticeable improvement or modification of the text. The reason for this is purely mechanical. Once a reasonable relation between text and commentary was worked out in the press room, subsequent printers seemed reluctant to change it. This directly contradicts the myth of “amelioration” found in early bibliographies, whereby undated editions in prose were felt to be earlier than editions printed in verse.<sup>21</sup>

The division of editions into one of these two orders occurs up through 1510, with the Ph-Hec order firmly associated with editions with the Donatus commentary and its successors.<sup>22</sup> When the Donatus commentary is revised and supplemented in the sixteenth-century editions by Etienne and Froben, two changes take place: first, in page-layout, the commentaries are removed from the margin and simply follow the text. The typesetting problems of aligning text and a commentary that physically surrounds it thus are eliminated. In addition, the order Hec-Ph replaces what I have characterized as the “Donatus order”.<sup>23</sup> This confirms the disappearance of early folio editions with the surrounding Donatus commentary from the tradition: the source for the editions of Etienne and Froben is a bare text edition of the text, and an independent edition of Donatus. After that, the Hec-Ph order is found even in those late editions that adopt page-layouts characteristic of folio

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (London, 1848), II, 404, discussing the Mentelin edition: “All editions, just briefly described [early prose editions] are *without a life of Terence* and *pay no attention to metrical order*. This may be thought to prove that there was less care, research, and regularity, in the compilation of these editions; and therefore there may be a probability of their superior antiquity”. The notion of “amelioration” with reference to verse is also found in the dating of these editions by Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de livres*, 5 vols (Paris, 1863), s.v. Terentius, V, 702.

<sup>22</sup> The Donatus commentary is printed without the Terence text in four incunable editions; it does not appear with the Terence text in any manuscript, although there is doubt whether the format including text and commentary is an invention of printing; see M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, ‘New Light on the Transmission of Donatus’s “Commentum Terentii”’, *Viator*, 9 (1978), 235–49. The plays also appear in two orders in the independent commentaries. In the first printed edition, an edition that precedes any edition where the commentary accompanies the Terence text, the order of the final two plays is Hec-Ph, i.e. the gamma order or what for printed editions would be the “non-Donatus” order. The edition by the R-Printer (1476) has the order Hec-Ph. The later two editions use the order Ph-Hec. See P. Wessner, *Donatus: Commentum Terenti*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1962), I, xxxiv.

<sup>23</sup> The change applies to most later editions; a few English editions are exceptional. The Pynson editions of 1494–97 have the order Ph-Hec, although they do not include a commentary (STC 23885). The appearance of this order in later English editions without commentaries probably indicates reliance on this edition; see e.g. 1589 (STC 23887) and 1619 (STC 23889), both without commentary.

incunable editions: for example, the Venice edition of 1543 (Lawton #265, part of series 6) and the Italian edition of 1558 (*Il Terentio*) where both text and surrounding gloss are in Italian translation.

From this scheme, a number of preliminary conclusions can be drawn. To begin with, many of these features have what from a textual-critical point of view is independent circulation; the result is further contamination of an already contaminated tradition. Act/scene divisions are easily transferred from one printed edition into another, as are substantive variants, illustrations, and even colometry. It is, thus, extremely difficult to distinguish such things as printer's copy (the actual physical object used by the printer — of interest to printing history) from copy-text (the abstract text behind the edition — of interest to textual-criticism). And all this is further complicated by the recalcitrant individuality of particular copies of editions (Politian's copy of the 1475 Venice edition, for example) — copies that are very likely contaminated with readings from other traditions.<sup>24</sup> On a more general level, the printed editions can be seen to function in two opposing ways: first, they promulgate error and diversity; they thus do precisely what they have been accused of not doing — they promote a destabilized text.<sup>25</sup> Only later, and as a reaction, do they serve in the establishment of a scholarly text — one that might be considered to represent some measure of stability.

### Representation of Verse: The *Eunuchus* Prologue

In terms of text and colometry, the major sixteenth-century editions (the various Aldine, Etienne, and Froben editions) differ very little from modern editions by Marouzeau, Prete, or Lindsay. The same could not be said of the incunable Terences, particularly those with texts surrounded by the Donatus commentary. As an example of what a fifteenth-century reader might find, let us consider a few versions of the prologue to the *Eunuchus*. The verses are iambic senarii, and as Terence passages go, scansion is uncomplicated — that is, as long as one has a text that is only minimally corrupt.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Huntington copies tend to be very clean, but even these provide many examples of such contamination: the Huntington copy of the de Spira edition of 1471 is in certain sections thoroughly corrected by (or contaminated by) an early sixteenth-century edition.

<sup>25</sup> Tim William Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* (Charlottesville, 1994), pp. 9-19.

<sup>26</sup> The examples below are typical, as far as I know, and accord with supplementary plates and descriptions available in the *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche*

Several of the earliest editions are printed as prose: the Mentelin edition of 1469 (T-64, once considered the *editio princeps*), the Rome edition of 1472 (T-66) as well as its 1481 reprint (T-80), and the Naples edition of 1474 (T-64, it000643000, it00064600). The earliest text at the Huntington printed as verse is the 1471 edition attributed to Zovenzonius (T-65). The text of the *Eunuchus* prologue is as follows:

Sororem falso dictam Thaidis:  
 Id ipsum ignorans miles advexit thraso:  
 Ipsique donat. erat haec civis attica.  
 Eidem eunuchum quem emerat: Thaidi iubet.  
 Thaidis amator Phaedria: Trasoni  
 Oratus biduum concedere.  
 Ephebus frater Phaedriae: puellam  
 Cum repperiret dono missam Thaidi  
 Ornatum eunuchi induitur. introiit  
 Vitiauit uirginem, suadet Parmeno.  
 Sed atticus ciuis imprimis repertus:  
 Frater collocat viciatam ephebo.

The 1474 Padua edition (T-64) is similar, but there are significant differences: the obviously corrupt text in lines 5-6 is printed as a single line; the unscannable *puellam* is changed to *puellulam*; *vitiavit* becomes *vitiat*, although the scansion in these last few lines is unsalvageable:

Sororem falso dictitatum thaidis  
 Id ipsum ignorans miles aduexit Thraso  
 Ipsique donat. erat haec ciuis athica.  
 Eidem eunuchum: quem emerat tradi iubet  
 Thaidis amato phedria thrasoni oratus biduum concedere.  
 Ephebus frater Phedriae puellulam.  
 Qum reperiret dono missam thaidi  
 Ornatum eunuchi induitur. introiit.  
 Viciat uirginem. suadet Parmeno.  
 Sed athicus ciuis imprimis repertus.  
 Frater: collocat uiciatam ephebo.<sup>27</sup>

*d'Italia V* (Rome, 1972) and in the plates in the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde des XV. Jahrhunderts, *Veröffentlichungen* (Leipzig, 1907 – ). See e.g. IGI pl. 40 for Milan 1474 (it00067600). Exceptional is GfT 243 of the Louvain edition (it00081200), where the colometry is nearly perfect for a passage from *Phormio* 766ff.

<sup>27</sup> Except in details of spelling, the 1481 Milan edition (T-78) is identical to that of 1474. The prose text of the Mentelin edition is in terms of substantives the same as these editions; in line 4, Mentelin reads *tradi* for *Thaidi*.

Another of the earliest editions to print Terence as verse is the 1475 Venice edition (it00070600; Lawton #19) — the edition used by Politian to collate the Bembo manuscript:

Sororem falso dictitatum thaidis,  
 Id ipsum ignorans miles aduexit thraso:  
 Ipsique donat erat haec ciuis attica.  
 Eidem eunuchum quem emerat tradi iubet  
 Thaidis amator phaedria thrasoni oratus biduum concedere.  
 Ephebus frater phaedriae puellulam  
 Quum reperiret dono missam thaidi:  
 Ornatu eunuchi induitur. introiit.  
 Vitiat uirginem. suadet parmeno.  
 Sed atticus ciuis in primis repertus:  
 Frater: collocat uitiatam ephebo.

These three versions all look like verse and six of the first seven lines in each will at least scan. The same could not be said of the 1477 Treviso edition (T-75) — an edition that contains the Donatus commentary.

Sororem falso dictitatum thaidis. id ipsum ignorans  
 Miles aduexit thraso. ipsique donat. erat haec  
 Ciuis attica eidem eunuchum quem emerat tradi  
 Iubet thaidis amator. phaedria thrasoni oratus  
 Biduum concedere ephebus frater phaedriae puellulam quum  
 Reperiret dono missam thaidi: ornatu eunuchi induitur.  
 Introiit. uitiat uirginem. suadet parmeno. sed atticus ciuis  
 In primis repertus frater: collocat vitiatam ephebo.

This is printed as verse, but in all likelihood copied from one of the editions printed as prose; the line lengths of the 1472 prose edition edited by Angelus Sabinus (T-66) differ only slightly. Colometry identical to that in the Treviso edition appears in the 1479 Venice edition (T-77, a page-for-page reprint), the 1481 Treviso edition (T-79), and the Lyons 1488 edition (T-85); such colometry could not be produced by accident, nor through independent efforts to define lines by syntax rather than meter.<sup>28</sup>

The 1497/8 Venice edition (T-98) represents the passage as follows:

Sororem falso dictitatum thaidis: idipsum  
 Ignorans miles abduxit thraso. ipsique  
 Donat: erat haec ciuis attica. Eidem  
 Eunuchum quem emerat tradi iubet thaidis amator

<sup>28</sup> These editions are not defined as a series by Lawton, although the relations are noted in his notes to individual editions (see notes on Lawton #10=11, #34, and #63).



Phedria ac rus ipse abiit thrasoni oratus biduum  
 Concedere: [E]phebus frater phaedriae puellulam quum  
 Repperiret dono missam thaidi: ornatum eunuchi  
 Induitur: introiit: uitiat uirginem  
 Suadet parmeno: sed atticus ciuis in primis  
 Repertus frater collocat uitiatam ephebo.  
 Phaedriam exorat thraso.

The 1499 Venice edition (T-103) differs only in the colometry of lines 4-5. (These represent Lawton's series 7.) Even the way this passage is typeset in the present text shows that the first three lines are significantly shorter than the others. The paragraph initial in the edition itself is not large enough to account for this: the three lines do not reach the right margin. The colometry here is determined not by metrical rules but by the existence of a three-line initial that must have appeared in the printed source of this edition.

In sharp contrast to these is the text from the major sixteenth-century editions: the Giunta editions associated with Benedictus Philologus, the Aldine edition of 1517, and the editions of Etienne and Froben. These are almost identical to the modern Lindsay text. I quote the 1517 Aldine text below:

Sororem falso dictitatum Thaidis,  
 Id ipsum ignorans miles abduxit Thraso.  
 Ipsique donat. erat haec ciuis Attica.  
 Eidem eunuchum, quem emerat, tradi iubet  
 Thaidis amator Phaedria, ac rus ipse abit,  
 Thrasoni oratus biduum concederet.  
 Ephebus frater Phaedriae puellulam  
 Cum deperiret, dono missam Thaidi,  
 Ornatu eunuchi induitur: suadet Parmeno,  
 Introiit. uitiat uirginem. sed Atticus  
 Ciuis repertus frater eius, conlocat  
 Vitiatam Ephebo, Phaedriam exorat Thraso.

The recovery of the phrase *ac rus ipse abit* salvages lines 5 and 6; for the last four lines, more radical departures from earlier texts are required.<sup>29</sup>

Some of the editions reveal a degree of editorial diligence — either in the edition itself or in its exemplar. In the 1474 and 1475 editions, there

<sup>29</sup> The variant *abduxit* is from the Bembo manuscript, and the only Bembo reading rejected by Lindsay in his 1926 edition; *ac rus ipse abit* is available in a number of manuscripts other than A. See textual notes in Lindsay and Marouzeau.

is a clear degradation in the text as the prologue proceeds, due to a substantive error in line 5. The first few lines do in fact scan, and the editor even recovers from a major error in line 5 (the omission of *ac rus ipse abit*), but is unable to resolve the dislocation of the last verses. Other incunable editions show far less editorial diligence, and editors sometimes lapse into intelligible colometry as if by default. A very common feature occurs in long passages, particularly those in iambic senarii. For the first few lines, colometry is erratic; after a dozen or so lines, however, it appears to straighten out. The disruption at the beginning of these passages is doubtless caused by large initials at the beginning of these sections in their exemplars.<sup>30</sup>

Passages involving various long lines pose many more problems. In some cases, the editors seem to give up: the following (the final lines from *Andria*) has the marks of verse (each printed line begins with a capital) but there is none of the syntactic or rhetorical integrity to each line one finds in the examples of unscannable colometry quoted above. I quote the Treviso edition of 1477 (T-75), but many other editions show comparable confusion here:

Age me secundis in rebus tuis respice. tuus nunc chremes est.  
 Facturum quae voles scio esse omnia. Pa. memini: atque adeo longum  
 Est expectare illum dum exeat. sequere me hac intus. apud  
 Glycerium nunc est: tu daue abi domum propere, accerse hinc qui  
 Auferant eam. quid stas? quid cessas? Da. eo. ne expectetis dum  
 Exeat huc. intus despondebitur: intus transigetur: siquid  
 Est quod restat. vos valete: & plaudite. calliopius recensui.

In other cases, editors determined to represent prose passages as verse: the alternative prologue to *Eunuchus* ("Meretrix adolescentem cuius mutuo amore tenebatur"), a passage in prose, is almost always printed as verse, even in the 1532 Froben edition, where Erasmus specifically marks it "non sunt versus".

To recover the correct meter from any Terentian text requires a number of assumptions, and fifteenth-century readers could not count on things modern readers take for granted: that the passage is in verse, that it is at least minimally correct and scannable, and that rules of prosody

<sup>30</sup> See the Treviso edition (T-75) and the 1479 Venice reprint (T-77), whose remarkably bad *Eunuchus* prologue is quoted above. In the *Andria* prologue, the first eight lines have seemingly arbitrary line breaks. The rest of the lines are as in modern editions. So in *Andria* 1.2, where after metrical chaos in the opening four lines, the colometry is that of a modern edition.

with specific exceptions apply. Long lines posed the greatest difficulties, and in those passages now analyzed as a series of alternating trochaic and iambic lines, a fifteenth-century reader would have had little chance of divining the modern consensus.<sup>31</sup>

In this respect, the institution of printing should have helped: the above examples show that with enough versions of a particular text at hand, both metrical and textual problems can be, if not solved, at least identified (the correctness of the phrase *ac rus ipse abit* in the *Eunuchus* prologue is an example). But even the printed texts needed to be collated, and there seem to be no significant and widespread advances in meter until act and scene numbering become standard.<sup>32</sup>

Again, the particular difficulties of Terence meters must be stressed. Most of us, with some Latin, can make our way through hexameters, elegiacs, and most lyric meters. Scanning such verses is a normal part of Latin training, and it would also be within the competence of most Latinists to do this even if the passages were printed as prose. Whether this would be possible with a Terence text — and let us imagine one both unfamiliar to us and textually corrupt — I leave that to the consciences of individual Latinists.<sup>33</sup>

### The Bembo Manuscript and the Establishment of Modern Terence Colometry

The erratic colometry characteristic of fifteenth-century editions of Terence disappears very quickly in the early sixteenth century with the Giunta edition of 1505 edited by Benedictus Philologus. The major editions of the sixteenth century all show this change, and my discussion

<sup>31</sup> The resolution of colometry did not mean resolution of meter and prosody; see, for example, the metrical disputes recorded in the 1545 Venice edition and its reprints (Lawton #278; Paris rpt. 1552, Lawton #309), in particular the objections of Glareanus to Erasmus on *Andria* 965-979.

<sup>32</sup> Without such guidance, the only way to find one's way around these texts is through woodcut initials at the beginning of each scene — guides which are often misleading. Among the incunable editions checked here, I found three different initials used in the opening phrase of *Andria* "Vos istaec" — H, N, and V.

<sup>33</sup> The situation is not hypothetical. Several early editions identify meters, but print the text as prose; see Venice 1497 (T-96), and Lawton's notes, p. 116, on the Strassburg edition of 1511: "Sans distinction des verses, quoique les mètres soient indiqués parfois à la tête des scènes". According to Lawton, the verses are printed as verse ("distingués") in the reprint of 1516 (Lawton #156).

below will be limited to three associated in some way with Erasmus: the Aldine edition of 1517, the Etienne folio edition of 1529 and the Froben edition of 1532 containing Erasmus metrical notes. Individual details of this transformation have been noted and numerous bibliographies of these editions are available (although much of the published information is misleading).<sup>34</sup> This transformation results in large part from the promulgation of the colometry of the Bembo manuscript (Vat. Lat. 3226) a colometry enforced through all the most important lines of editions in the sixteenth century.

In 1491, Politian collated the Bembo manuscript and entered both the variants and its colometry in a copy of the 1475 Venice edition. Pietro Bembo then copied Politian's collations into a book from the same press-run, bearing the same colophon (because of variant preliminaries, Bembo's book is catalogued somewhat misleadingly as a separate edition).<sup>35</sup> The 1475 edition used by Politian and Bembo was printed as verse, with reasonably good colometry for portions in iambic senarii; the verse of long lines is less well represented (see portions of *Eunuchus* prologue cited above). Politian provided a nearly complete collation of the Bembo manuscript, marking all line divisions and all variants. Although notes by Ribuoli show that Politian missed many of the substantive variants in the manuscript, Politian accurately and clearly represented its colometry.

<sup>34</sup> There is no reliable guide to these editions that supersedes Lawton. The information in Cupaiuolo, *Bibliographia Terenziana* is derivative, and because of his short-title conventions, some of the real books Cupaiuolo catalogs are entered under misleading editors' names (the Erasmus example discussed below). The Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue grows out of materials studied directly by Lawton and the two lists are easily collated. The union catalogue *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 20 (Stuttgart, 1993) [VD-16] can also be collated with Lawton, but many German editions in Lawton are not listed in VD-16 and many in VD-16 do not appear in Lawton.

<sup>35</sup> The basic studies of Politian's use of this manuscript are by Riccardo Ribuoli, *La collazione poliziana del codice bembino di Terenzio* (Rome, 1981), with several facsimile pages, and 'Per la storia del codice bembino di Terenzio', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 109 (1981), 163-77. See also Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits de Politien: Catalogue descriptif* (Geneva, 1965), p. 343. On the role of Bembo, see Anthony Grafton, 'Pietro Bembo and the 'Scholia Bembina'', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 24 (1981), 405-07, and Grant, 'Pietro Bembo and Vat. Lat. 3226'; see further John N. Grant, 'Pietro Bembo as a Textual Critic of Classical Latin Poetry: "Variae Lectiones" and the Text of the Culex', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 35 (1992), 253-303. For the bibliographical relation between these two presumed editions, see my 'A Ghostly Twin Terence (21 July 1475; IGI 9422, 9423)', *The Library* (forthcoming 1999).

An edition that made direct and diligent use of Politian's collations should show two things: colometry and substantives of the Bembo manuscript, along with a number of accidentals from the Venice tradition. But the details of the Bembo manuscript did not enter the textual-critical tradition in such a systematic way. What the printing tradition shows is that the colometry of the Bembo manuscript entered the editorial tradition independent of its substantives. The Bembo colometry appears in a number of sixteenth-century editions, but the distinctive A variants appear only sporadically in the editions that make specific reference to Politian's collations (Giunta and Aldine editions).<sup>36</sup>

Politian's book bears the ownership mark of Petrus Crinitus, and it was through Crinitus that the collations were incorporated into the tradition of printed editions. The first edition to use them is the 1505 Florence edition by Giunta with a preface by Benedictus Philologus *Terentius in sua metra restitutus* (Lawton #118). The importance of the Giunta edition has been long recognized, although it remains less well-known than the more popular editions of Aldus, Etienne, and Froben.<sup>37</sup> This was the basis for a number of later editions, one of the more interesting pirates being the Venice edition of 1511 — an octavo edition printed in an eccentric bâlard type, with elaborate woodcut borders.<sup>38</sup> The order of texts in these editions is And Eun Ht Ad Hec Ph — the order of plays found in the non-Donatus tradition, and the order one would expect to find in any printed edition that claims to re-edit Terence. It is the order that appears in most of the editions without commentary — books that provide enough marginal space to be useful as copy-texts.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure: Shakspeare's Early Plays on the Background of Renaissance Theories of Five-Act Structure from 1470* (Urbana, 1947), p. 106, who notes that the scene divisions of the 1475 edition used by Politian appear also in the edition by Benedictus.

<sup>37</sup> See esp. Baldwin, *Five-Act Structure*, pp. 106-10: "This text with its restored meter and its act-system immediately became the basis seemingly for all new editions" (107). Baldwin's comments on meter are not illustrated.

<sup>38</sup> *Hoc pugillari Terentius numeris concinatus, et L. Victoris Fausti e comoedia libellus nova recognitione* (Venice, 1511) (Lawton #137). Another reedition, whose date has been variously assigned as 1506, 1516, and 1526, is noted by Luigi Balsamo, 'Intorno ad una rara edizione di Terenzio (Venezia 1506) e allo stampatore Alessandro Paganino', in *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano, miscellaneo in onore di Lamberto Donati* (Florence, 1969), pp. 11-25. An extant colophon gives the date as 1506 (Balsamo, pp. 11-12). I have not seen this edition, but the details in Balsamo make it almost certain that it is a page-for-page reprint of the 1511 Venice edition (not the Giunta edition). For a survey of the Giunta editions, see Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Notice sur la famille des Junte et liste sommaire de leurs éditions jusqu'en 1550* (Paris, 1834), p. xi.

In his preface to Petrus Crinitus, Benedictus speaks of the “great labor and diligence” he expended in restoring the meters. The labors he speaks of here are actually those of Politian, whose colometry Benedictus adopts wholesale.

Neque te praeterit, quantum etiam in hac parte manibus Angeli Politiani debeatur, qui primus, (ut homo accuratissimus in pervestigandis veterum monumentis) hasce Terentii fabulas emendare aggressus est, et in suos numeros aptissime referre, collatis, ac perlectis vetustis exemplaribus. Ego autem spero me consecutum hac nostra diligentia, ut ipse quoque author Terentius... existimet se ereptum per labores nostros, ab iniuria imperitorum, qui eum scriptorem (abnegatis in eius comoediis metris) foede, atque improbe depravarunt...

Benedictus provides as well a section on meter, and following Priscian, distinguishes in detail the substitutions permissible in comedy from those permissible in tragedy (sigs. a7-a9). He provides no examples.<sup>39</sup> The meters used in each scene are identified at the beginning of a scene, although there are no specific notes (as Erasmus would provide in the Froben edition) concerning the scansion of individual lines.

As for the editing of the text, the Giunta edition introduced or adopted a series of distinctive readings. These variants seem unrelated to readings in the 1475 edition with Politian's colometric notes — notes which must have been copied into a different Terence edition for use by Benedictus. And they easily distinguish Aldine editions from Etienne and Froben editions. They persist through the sixteenth century and appear erratically in some seventeenth-century editions.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Leonhardt, *Dimensio syllabarum*, pp. 243 and 164 n. 41, lists Benedictus's introduction as one of the few works by Italian humanists to treat metrical theory apart from prosody (these few, with the exception of Perotti, are all essays in editions of comedy, e.g. those of Erasmus and Goveanus); see pp. 176-77 on Aldo Manuzio and the chapter 'Metriktheorie in der italienischen Renaissance', pp. 154-81. Leonhardt's distinction seems to me problematic; in the case of Terence, the major metrical problems were in fact prosodic ones and textual ones. No metrical theory would be either useful or thinkable without solutions to these problems.

<sup>40</sup> A useful brief test passage is the beginning of *Adelphoe*, where the following variants distinguish the Giunta-Aldine editions from those of Etienne and Froben (the vertical line represents line breaks; I use the Froben variants as lemmata):

35 quae cogito? & | ] quae cogito? |

24 Et tibi bene ] Tibi bene

37 in animo instituere, aut | ] in animo instituere | Aut

51 praetermitto ] permitto

53 Patres quae ] Patre quae

60 Venit ad me saepe clamans ] V. s. a. me clamitans

64 aequumque & bonum ] aequum & bonum

### The Presumed Erasmus Edition

The Giunta edition was superseded by a number of editions: one series beginning in 1516 associated with Melanchthon, and other series by Etienne, Aldus, and Froben, all associated with Erasmus.<sup>41</sup> Erasmus claimed to work twice on Terence — first during his famous visit to Aldus in 1507-08 and again in the production of the Froben edition of 1532. (The first visit is perhaps best known through Erasmus's own parodic version of it in the colloquy "Opulentia sordida".) Although Erasmus did much to provide intellectual support for the Bembo colometry, the suggestion by scholars that such work contributed to the actual editing of the first Aldine edition (1517) or that Erasmus contributed significantly to the editing of the later Froben edition is inaccurate.

Aldus complained early about the problem of metrical confusion in Terence, and shows also that he was familiar with the work that would provide a solution — Politian's collations of the Bembo manuscript.<sup>42</sup> In the preface to the Aldus edition of Politian 1498, Aldus complains that Politian's notes on Terence have not been published and that certain Florentines have these materials (see Baldwin, *Five-Act Structure*, p. 106). In his 1503 complaint against Lyons printers, Aldus criticizes the confused state of Terence meters found in the Lyons imprint — an imprint

The individual variants are not uniquely those of Benedictus, and I assume they result both from Benedictus's editing and from the printing house production of the Giunta edition. Some may result from mistranscriptions of abbreviations such as are found in earlier Venice editions; cf. the readings in the 1490 edition (T-87): *ptmitto* / *pre quae* / *aequum et bonum*.

<sup>41</sup> Lawton, series 14. The Melanchthon editions begin with *Comoediae metro numerisque restitutae* (Tübingen, 1516) (Lawton, #154 = VD16 T-378). For the 1516 edition, Panzer cites Melanchthon as editor "Editor Phil. Mela. Brettanus"; Georg Wolfgang Panzer, *Annales typographici*, vol. 8 (Nuremberg, 1800), p. 326. The title page does not mention Melanchthon. Lawton, p. 123, notes this, but cites the edition as the base for later editions ("fut la base sur laquelle plusieurs autres humanistes travaillèrent pour restituer, à leur tour, ce qu'ils croyaient être le véritable texte des comédies", p. 301). It is clearly not the basis for the later Froben and Etienne editions. The Melanchthon edition reprints the preface of Benedictus, and my preliminary collations show that the 1516 edition contains many characteristic Giunta variants that do not appear in the later editions of Etienne and Froben. Baldwin, *Five-Act Structure*, pp. 170-71, notes at least twelve editions by 1532 (several more than Lawton); but the references in VD-16 suggest that the Froben edition drove out the various Melanchthon editions.

<sup>42</sup> Prete, *Il codice Bembino*, p. 7, quoting a letter in the 1580 edition of Aldus's letters: "ad Terentium accingere, inde da operam ut Bembi libro uti possis; cuius ope quin maculas eluas bene multas et suos versibus numeros aliena culpa perturbatos restituas, etsi non dubito, tamen hortor ut adhibeas diligentiam".

Aldus considered a pirate despite the fact that his own Terence remained unpublished:

Metra etiam confusa sunt omnia. Versus enim primae scenae, quae tot trimetris constat, sic, tanquam chaos in elementa, separati ab invicem in suum locum sunt restituendi... Item secunda scena, cuius tres primi versus sunt trimetri, quartus tetrameter, quintus dimeter et caeteri omnes quadrati, sic esse debet...

Aldus notes, as others will, the great labor he has expended on this: "Qua in re quantus sit mihi labor, cogitent qui intelligunt, certe plurimum die noctuque elaboramus".<sup>43</sup> But the corrected text Aldus prints here (of passages from *Andria*) is not in its details the same as what would appear in the Aldine imprint of 1517 (*Andria* is the only play in this edition to bear the words "Aldus recensuit"). The 1517 Aldine edition appeared two years after Aldus's death; and the preface (signed by Fr. Torresanus but presumably by Navagero) speaks of the work on meter as on-going, not as finished, this despite Erasmus's visit ten years earlier:

Siquid desyderandum in illo est: desyderandum id est: ut ea aliquando in manus nostras ueniant exemplaria: ex quibus emendatissimus emitti, ac confusi illius restitui uersus possint.... restituit horum multos Aldus sororius meus, dum uiueret; multos nos eo mortuo ex ueteribus libris correximus. (sig. a3v)<sup>44</sup>

The nature of Erasmus's work on Plautus and Terence during his visit of 1507-08 visit is generally described as editorial; but this I believe overstates the case.<sup>45</sup> Erasmus himself never claims to have prepared or produced an edition; and the letter of Beatus Rhenanus, now heading the Allen edition of Erasmus's letters, distinguishes

<sup>43</sup> *Aldi Monitum in Lugdunenses typographos*; Orlandi, ed., *Aldo Manuzio*, pp. 170-71. On the Lyons editions criticized, see Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1834), pp. 301-316, and Lawton, #105 and #108.

<sup>44</sup> Lawton credits the much-noted Navagero attribution to Jean George Théodore Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, 6 vols (Dresden, 1867), VI, p. 155; see Lawton, *Térence*, p. 126. On Franciscus and Andreas Torresanus (= Asulanus), see P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols (Oxford, 1906-1958), I, 448 n. 2.

<sup>45</sup> "During his stay in Venice in 1507-8, Erasmus assisted Aldus in the preparation of the texts that became the basis for the Aldine edition of Terence (Nov. 1517) and Plautus (July 1522)"; R. A. Mynors, tr., *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, 11 vols (Toronto, 1974-), IX, 310, n. 96; see also IV, 388 and note. The same claim is made by Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Ithaca, 1979), p. 242: "Erasmus worked in 1508 on an edition of Terence which was finally printed by Andrea Torresani in 1517". The references cited do not support these statements.



Erasmus's editorial work on Euripides from his metrical work on Plautus and Terence: "tragoedias duas... aedit et Terentii Plautique comoedias habita carminis ratione castigavit" (Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, I, 61). This is consistent with what Erasmus himself says in his letter to Botzheim:

Moliti sumus simile quiddam apud Aldum post aedita Prouerbia in Comoedias Terentii et Plauti omnes, sed hic nihil aliud professi quam versuum confusorum digestionem, ubi licuisset; tum in tragoedias Senecae... exemplaria reliquimus Aldo permittentes illius arbitrio quid de his statuere vellet.<sup>46</sup>

And in a 1517 letter of Andreas Torresanus to Erasmus, Erasmus is actually given more credit for working on Plautus than on Terence:

Nosti enim (nam tum aderas) quantum temporis consumpsit in emendando Therentio Aldus, gener meus suavissimus ac charissimus... tum in Plauto quanta usus est industria, in qua re tu multum illum adiutasti. (Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, II, 590-91)

The preface by Franciscus Torresanus to the 1522 Aldine edition of Plautus is quite consistent with these statements. There is in fact no mention of *any* work on Terence in this preface, and there is a strong emphasis on meter:

Utinam omnes illas haberemus [the fables of Plautus] aut certe quae nunc habentur integrae, & suo carminum mensu constantes extarent, recentiores certe illarum enarratores non tam anxie laborarent in quaerenda significatione multorum uerborum... Veruntamen quanta diligentia fieri potuit Aldus noster, et Erasmus Roterdamus, illas olim castigarunt, quorum exemplar nos librariis nostris preponentes has.xx. describendas curauimus.

Incunable Plautus editions show none of the colometric confusion and chaos seen in Terence editions. And the word *castigare* used of Erasmus's work by both Beatus Rhenanus and Torresanus may mean no more than to provide scansion for lines where the colometry was to a large extent established. This seems to be what Erasmus himself claims to have done in providing a "digest" of the meters.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Allen, *Opus epistolarum*, I, 13; see also I, 437 (Erasmus to Aldus), and Allen's note at I, 444: "After completion of Adagia, Erasmus remained at Venice till December, working for Aldus at Plautus and Terence, and Seneca".

<sup>47</sup> See also the slightly different metrical "digest" provided in the margins of the so-called Melanchthon editions; Melanchthon's language differs substantially from that of Erasmus, even when their metrical scansion is similar.

These statements are thoroughly consistent with the internal evidence one finds in the various Terence editions. What this internal evidence also shows is that the basis of the work of Erasmus and Aldus was very likely a Giunta edition, whose characteristic variants consistently appear in the 1517 Aldine edition.<sup>48</sup> The metrical work of Aldus and Erasmus was work based on the colometry of the Bembo manuscript as transmitted by Politian and Benedictus. And the "exemplaria" Erasmus left with Aldus (if that word in the quotation above applies to his Terence notes) may well have included a Giunta edition of Terence with his own metrical notes.

Erasmus worked a second time on Terence editions for the 1532 edition of Froben. Erasmus complains in the section 'De Metris', as others had, of earlier representations of Terence's meters. Even when the verses were correctly distinguished (that is, when they show what I call the correct colometry), these were not correctly analyzed. Again Erasmus is often given credit for producing an edition.<sup>49</sup> But he claims that he was able to give over only four days to the work.

Nonnihil etiam hic peccarunt eruditi, qui dum carminum genera distinguunt ac dimetiuntur parum attentī, interiecerunt uerba quaedam, ut explerent uersus hiatum, aut resecuerunt quod uidebatur superesse.... Proinde nos quadriduanam opellam sumpsimus, ut adolescentulis aliquam huius difficultatis partem adimeremus, non quidem in omnes fabulas, sed in unam perpetuo, & in caeteris carptim: quo ceu filo adiuti, sese facilius e caeteris explicent labyrinthis. (sig. [alpha]3r)

I assume that the play Erasmus claims to have worked on the most was *Andria*, although metrical notations in the various plays seem uniform. He also does not mention his earlier work on Terentian meters — work that scholars claim found its way into the Aldine editions. But what Erasmus did during these four days is crystal clear when one compares the Froben edition with the earlier Etienne folio edition of 1529. The two editions are identical textually and even in matters of format — where Etienne has small capital headings, so does Froben. The similarity

<sup>48</sup> Lawton gives examples of *Andria* 329-33 where the Giunta and Aldine texts differ; but my own collations do not support the implication that the editions differ appreciably. The Giunta colometry falls apart at the end of *Andria* (as the Aldine does not), but elsewhere, the variants match those of early Aldine editions.

<sup>49</sup> Daniel Kinney, 'Erasmus and the Latin Comedians', in J. Chomarat — A. Godin (eds.), *Actes du Colloque international Erasme (Tours, 1986)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 239 (Genève, 1990), p. 60: "in 1531, he produced an edition of Terence himself and supplied it with an elegant preface".

extends even to matters of punctuation and diacritical marks. The only difference between the two editions is the italicized notes on meter by Erasmus — notes that appear in the margins.<sup>50</sup> The explanation is clear: the printer's copy for the Froben edition was a specific copy of the 1529 Etienne edition in which Erasmus had made metrical notes — notes that were set up as italics along with the superscript references.

But Etienne himself would reap the benefits of this apparent piracy. In an introductory note to his 1529 edition, Etienne speaks heatedly about his editorial labors. He claims that earlier editions are chaotic: even pages are reversed. He claims he has corrected this Terence edition using commentaries of Donatus and the “collation of the best exemplars”: “Praetereo quod in ipso Terentio partim ex Donati commentariis, partim ex optimorum exemplarium collatione haud pauca fideliter correximus”. He also claims the edition is new: “In summa tale nunc prodit opus, ut veluti novum, nedum instauratum videri possit”. Anyone who doubts this and troubles himself to confer this edition with others, will find some 6000 corrections in the exemplar.

The edition in which Etienne makes these claims is the folio with commentary (Lawton #199) — representing one of three series of editions Etienne was printing. There is a second folio edition without extensive commentary and lines spaced to permit the insertion of hand-written glosses (Lawton #200). The most often reprinted series is the octavo series — one that begins in 1526.<sup>51</sup> The fourth edition of this third series is dated 1533 (Lawton #212), with reprints in 1534 and 1535. But this fourth edition turns out to be a hybrid. In the preface, Etienne claims he once promised to expound meters — a promise he did not fulfill. But lo! Another edition “just happened” to come his way with Erasmus's commentary and distinction of meters. Etienne reprints them without apology, making no reference to the fact that the text for those notes was the very text he had loosed on the world with such editorial fanfare four years earlier. Two years later, in 1536, Etienne reprints the original folio edition (Lawton #225),

<sup>50</sup> Many of these details appear also in the later Melanchthon editions e.g., the edition of 1528. See n. 41 above.

<sup>51</sup> The listings in Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne* (Paris, 1843), pp. 30, 31, 255, are useful but incomplete. The second edition (unknown to Lawton) is presumably a reedition of the 1526 edition; see Fred Schreiber, *The Estiennes: An Annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of their Various Presses* (New York, 1982), #39. The later variants of the edition are noted in Lawton's series 16.

now with these same additions of Erasmus from the Froben edition, and, as Lawton notes, even part of its title.

From a modern point of view, such shenanigans are acts of piracy. But neither Froben nor Etienne so considered them. Erasmus's own work — those four little days — are mentioned again by Glareanus in 1540 in the preface to his own edition. Glareanus has difficulty reconciling the legend of Erasmus's early editing of Terence with the facts of the editorial situation in the 1530s and can only account for it by constructing a fictitious narrative about the insidious and irrepressible textual corruption that sneaks into the text. As for Erasmus's later work, what little editing Glareanus gives Erasmus credit for, he claims was stolen:

Ante annos aliquot Politianus, ex nescio quo vetusto codice, concitus est carmina in certam redigere seriem. Post eum Erasmus praeceptor noster Venetiis apud Aldum. Nec infeliciter ea res cessit. Verum, ut sunt <res> mortalium, ablatis erroribus, et pulchre omnibus in ordinem redactis, non ita multo post rursus cuncta turbata sunt et intra triginta annos author ita a priore emendatione exorbitavit, ut Erasmus, iam extrema aetate, alteram adhibuerit manum, sed quatuor dumtaxat dierum opera, ut ipsemet in earum annotationum praefatione fatetur, usus ibi codice meo, in quo pleraque annotata erant, ut ipse scenis praefixit titulos. Quam rem non admodum aequo animo tuli. Nam egi mihi ea, non aliis notaveram, nec in hoc certe ut ederentur.<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps Erasmus did make unauthorized use of Glareanus's notes in 1532; but there is a much simpler explanation for the state of Terence's text at that time than the one Glareanus provides of thirty years of imagined textual degradation: Erasmus' earlier work never saw the light of day.

The word *edition* means quite different things to the bibliographer and to the textual critic. A bibliographic edition is essentially an act in a printing house — the resetting of type. A textual-critical edition is something else entirely; it is an act of scholarship dealing with an abstraction — the text. But as these sixteenth-century editions show, an edition in one sense does not imply an edition in the other. Etienne produced editions of both kinds; and production speed for bibliographical editions was clearly more important than the promulgation of textual-critical editions no matter how much presumed "diligence" had gone into them.

<sup>52</sup> In *Pub. Terentii Carmina... Heinrichi Glareani Helvetij Iudicium* (Lyons, 1540) quoted by Lawton, p. 307; for bibliographical description, see Lawton, p. 255.

But I find no evidence for the existence of anything that could be legitimately described as an “Erasmus” edition in either the bibliographical or textual-critical sense. There is an almost unnerving coincidence of internal and external evidence on this point.

## Conclusions

During a period generally marked by heated philological and editorial polemic, the Bembo colometry for Terence was adopted by all sixteenth-century editions with surprisingly little dissent. Its substantive authority took more time to develop, and the first edition generally cited as using the manuscript readings and recording them in any systematic way is the Giunta edition of 1565, edited by Faerno (Lawton #361).<sup>53</sup> The history above, however, shows that these variants were judged in terms of a text that had already been formed on the basis of that same manuscript authority. The Bembo manuscript first provided a colometry that would be the basis for the metrical polemics that occupied many of the early humanists (Erasmus and Goveanus) and continued through Bentley. That colometry in turn provided a basis for legitimizing the substantive authority of the manuscript, since the Bembo variants naturally tended to scan in terms of the accepted colometric authority. The substantive authority of the manuscript has thus continued to increase, assuming perhaps its greatest weight in the modern editions of Umpfenbach and Lindsay.<sup>54</sup>

It is convenient when discussing this manuscript-text to contrast it with the “vulgate” text against which it competes. This is a common way of describing events in textual-critical history and of isolating editors (generally editor-heroes) within that history.<sup>55</sup> Yet it is clear that

<sup>53</sup> The Bembo collations are included in a separate volume: *Gabrielis Faerni Emendationes* generally bound with the 1565 Giunta edition. The B.N. copy of the reprint of 1572 is bound with the 1565 *Emendationes* (Lawton #384).

<sup>54</sup> The first citation to cite Bembo by name is the 1534 Cologne edition (Lawton #216, Lawton, p. 305), an edition that claims to be edited by Erasmus and Rivius (*ex recensione Erasmi et Joa. Rivii*). Bembo is also named among numerous authorities on the title-page of the 1545 edition (Lawton #278) as well as its 1552 Paris reprint by Roigny (Lawton #309).

<sup>55</sup> Grant speaks of such a vulgate text in this sense in discussing the collations of Bembo; “Bembo and Vat. Lat. 3226”, pp. 213, 217, 241. I should note that I am questioning only a technical term and its implications; I am fairly certain Grant and I generally agree on the points raised here. See on the history of this concept, E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley, 1974), p. 69.

during the incunable period, no such text and the presumed stability it suggests existed. Throughout the period, there are a number of competing texts — texts that acquire presumptive authority often for purely mechanical reasons: they are easy to type-set; they are easy to pirate; they have ample margins for collations. The closest thing to a vulgate text or a *textus receptus* developed in the period was the system of colometry in the Bembo manuscript itself — a standard basis of collation (perhaps an incidentally correct one) into which textual and metrical variants could be introduced. In this sense, it was less an actual text than a textual idea — the presumed object of editorial consensus (the rightness of the Bembo colometry), which in the early sixteenth century left specific matters of text, prosody, and meter as subjects of variation and debate.

Finally, the case of Terence has an obvious parallel in the early printing of English drama, where printers and modern scholars seem to have relived the history of Terence reception sketched above. Rhymed verse will reveal its metrical structure and colometry even in the most corrupt text. But blank verse presented early printers and readers with the same problems as did ill-understood Terence meters.<sup>56</sup> Although the number of early Shakespeare editions is paltry compared to the number of Terence editions, even those that exist show comparable disagreement and confusion over colometry. The colometry of Shakespeare quartos often differs radically from what one finds in the First Folio of 1623, even in cases of direct textual-critical relation. Passages represented in the folio as verse are occasionally printed as prose, often for reasons of space, and passages clearly intended as blank verse in both quarto and folio will have radically differing colometry — precisely the situation one would expect if a compositor were instructed to set a passage as verse, but was given no guidance as to what constituted a line.

But modern Shakespeare editors have acted as did early Terence editors. They have simply adopted the colometry of one source (the folio) as authoritative, despite increasingly contentious voices on the matter of substantives and even on the definition of what constitutes a legitimate text. And even when quarto plays are edited as independent texts, the

<sup>56</sup> Examples at the Huntington include Mary Stiff, *The good womens cryes...* (Westminster, 1650) (Wing S5551) (this is printed as prose clearly to save space) and John Fletcher, *The elder Brother* (London, 1678) (Wing B1588); to see the prose here as verse I believe requires reference to a second edition. I thank Stephen Tabor of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library for these references.

folio colometry intrudes and appears to have overriding authority.<sup>57</sup> I do not cite this as an object of criticism. For it is only on the basis of such a consensus, right or wrong, that rules for metrics, whether Shakespearean or Terentian, can be derived: that is, the scholarly study of metrics depends on the acceptance of an authoritative colometry. Without such an authority, the combination of an egregiously corrupt text and a meter marked by excessive and unanalyzed liberties would make scholarly advance on either subject next to impossible.

### Table of Incunable Editions Consulted

| Location                    | Rhodes | Lawton | Goff<br>ISTC | BMC   | B.N.   | Lawton<br>series | Verse/<br>Prose | Order  | Commentary |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------|--------------|-------|--------|------------------|-----------------|--------|------------|
| Strassburg                  |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| HEHL                        | 6      | 1      | T-64         | 1:54  | —      | —                | Pr              | Hec-Ph | no         |
| Rome 1471 (Zovenzonius ed.) |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| HEHL                        | 4      | 2      | T-65         | 5:158 | 10     | ser. 1           | V               | Ph-Hec | no         |
| Rome 1472 (Sabinus ed.)     |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| HEHL                        | 9      | 10=11  | T-66         | —     | —      | —                | Pr              | Hec-Ph | no         |
| Venice 1473                 |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| PML                         | 7      | 8      | T-67         | 5:165 | 8      | ser. 1           | V               | Ph-Hec | no         |
| Padua 1474                  |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| HEHL                        | 11     | 14     | T-68         | 7:906 | 20, 21 | —                | V               | Ph-Hec | no         |
| Naples 1474                 |        |        |              |       |        |                  |                 |        |            |
| ColU                        | 12     | —      | T-69         | —     | —      | —                | Pr              | Hec-Ph | no         |

<sup>57</sup> See e.g. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, ed., *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford, 1986) (the source of the recent Norton edition) and René Weis, *King Lear: A Parallel Text Edition* (New York, 1993). All print (at least) two texts for *King Lear*: one, based on the quarto editions, entitled "History of King Lear"; the other, based on the 1623 folio, entitled "The Tragedy of King Lear". Despite the apparent elevation of the quarto to the status of independent text, passages clearly printed as prose in the quarto are relineated according to the folio colometry, generally without comment. See, among numerous examples, Edmund's "Thou Nature art my goddess", printed as prose in the quarto, but relineated in modern editions to correspond to the colometry of the Folio.

|                         |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
|-------------------------|-------|----|-------------------------|----------|--------|--------|----|--------|----|
| Sant' Orso 1475         |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| CUL                     | 17    | 18 | T-70                    | 7:1027   | 22, 23 | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | no |
| Cologne 1475            |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| PML                     | 70    | 7  | T-71                    | —        | —      | ser. 1 | V  | Ph-Hec | no |
| Venice 1475             |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| (see n. 35)             | 18/19 | 19 | it00070600,<br>00070800 | —        | —      | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | no |
| Venice 1476             |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| PML                     | 23    | 25 | T-73                    | —        | 28     | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Treviso 1477            |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HEHL                    | 26    | 29 | T-75                    | IB 28387 | 29     | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Turin 1478              |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| PML                     | 27    | 32 | T-75a                   | —        | —      | —      | V  | Hec-Ph | no |
| Schussenried 1478       |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| CUL                     | 71    | 33 | T-76                    | 2:568    | —      | —      | Pr | —      | no |
| Venice 1479             |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HEHL                    | 30    | 34 | T-77                    | 5:272    | 30     | ser. 3 | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Treviso 1981            |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HarvCL                  | 35    | 42 | T-79                    | 6:898    | —      | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Rome 1481 (Sabinus ed.) |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HEHL                    | 36    | 47 | T-80                    | —        | 17     | —      | V  | Hec-Ph | no |
| Milan 1481              |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HEHL                    | 33    | 40 | T-78                    | —        | —      | —      | V  | Hec-Ph | no |
| Venice 1483             |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| CUL                     | 41    | 48 | it00080500              | 12:24    | 32     | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Venice 1483             |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| ColUL                   | 43    | 52 | T-81                    | 5:307    | 33,34  | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Brescia 1485            |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| ColUL                   | 46    | 57 | T-82                    | —        | 35     | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
| Strassburg 1489-93      |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| HarvCL                  | 72    | —  | T-83                    | —        | 36     | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |
|                         |       |    | it00086500              |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| Lyons 1488              |       |    |                         |          |        |        |    |        |    |
| ColUL                   | 84    | 63 | T-85                    | —        | —      | —      | V  | Ph-Hec | D  |



|                 |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
|-----------------|-----|----|--------------------------|--------|-------|---------|----|--------|-------|
| Venice 1489     |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| UCLA            | 51  | 64 | T-86                     | 12:33  | —     | ser. 4  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Venice 1490     |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 52  | 67 | T-87                     | —      | —     | ser. 5  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Venice 1492     |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HarvCL          | 56  | 72 | T-89                     | 5:392  | —     | ser. 5  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Paris 1492      |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| CUL             | 87  | 73 | T-89a                    | 8:146  | —     | ser. 6  | Pr | Ph-Hec | G     |
| Venice 1492/3   |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| ColUL           | 55  | 71 | T-89b                    | 5:441  | —     | ser. 5  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Lyons 1493      |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 90  | 75 | T-91                     | 8:295  | 37    | ser. 6  | Pr | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| Venice 1494     |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HarvCL          | 58  | 79 | T-92                     | 5:518  | —     | ser. 7* | V  | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| Venice 1495     |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 60  | 81 | T-93                     | —      | —     | ser. 5  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Strassburg 1496 |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 73  | 85 | T-94                     | 1:110  | 38    | ser. 8  | Pr | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| Lyons 1497      |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| ColUL           | 94  | 90 | T-96                     | —      | —     | ser. 6  | Pr | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| London, 1494-97 |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| [B.L. film]     | 110 | —  | it00107200-<br>000107700 | 4.g.13 | —     | —       | Pr | Hec-Ph | no    |
| Venice 1497-8   |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 62  | 89 | T-98                     | —      | —     | ser. 7  | V  | Ph-Hec | D     |
| Lyons 1499      |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| CUL             | 96  | 93 | T-99                     | —      | —     | ser. 6  | Pr | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| Strassburg 1499 |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HEHL            | 74  | 95 | T-101                    | 1:113  | 39-41 | ser. 8  | Pr | Ph-Hec | D G A |
| Paris 1499      |     |    |                          |        |       |         |    |        |       |
| HarvCL          | 97  | 96 | T-102                    | 8:151  | 47    | ser. 9  | Pr | Ph-Hec | M     |

Venice 1499

HEHL 65 98 T-103 5:491 — ser. 7 V Ph-Hec D G A

*Abbreviations for commentary:* D = Donatus (gen. with Calphurnius); G = Guido Juvenalis; A = Ascencius ed.; M = Malleolus.

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WORK OR PLAY? LATIN 'RECREATIONAL' GEORGIC  
POETRY OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

In recent years we have witnessed a new fashionability, at least within scholarly circles, of a literary genre which is decidedly *out* of fashion with the wider reading public: didactic poetry.<sup>1</sup> I will not here attempt to account for this modern blindness to the attractions of didactic poetry; suffice it to say that we are not dealing merely with another instance of that perennially-invoked Aristotelian challenge to Empedocles (*Poetics*, 1447a28).<sup>2</sup> It is true that, in the sixteenth century, some Aristotelian critics had refused the name of poet to the likes of Lucretius, Manilius, even Virgil in the *Georgics*, on the grounds that their poems lacked fiction (*fabula*).<sup>3</sup> At the same time, however, Latin and vernacular didactic poems were produced in great numbers — usually beyond the context of institutional instruction which seems to have been the norm in the Middle Ages. One can only assume the existence of receptive audiences, that Renaissance — and for that matter, early-modern — men of letters actually derived *enjoyment* from the reading of Latin didactic poetry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of recent literature on (mainly) classical and Renaissance didactic poetry, see my preface to *Poets and Teachers: Latin Didactic Poetry and the Didactic Authority of the Latin Poet from the Renaissance to the Present* (Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Cambridge Society for Neo-Latin Studies, Clare College, Cambridge, 9-11 September, 1996), ed. Yasmin Haskell and Philip Hardie, *Kleos*, 4 (Bari: Levante Editori, 1999), pp. 5-19.

<sup>2</sup> Our modern disenchantment with didactic poetry probably has more to do with the gradual decline of rhetorical culture since the Enlightenment. See my 'The Masculine Muse: Form and Content in the The Latin Didactic Poetry of Palingenius and Bruno', in *Form and Content in Didactic Poetry*, ed. Catherine Atherton, Nottingham Classical Studies, 5 (Bari: Levante Editori, 1998), pp. 117-44.

<sup>3</sup> See Baxter Hathaway, 'Were Empedocles and Lucretius Poets?', chapter 4 of *The Age of Criticism: The Late Renaissance in Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 65-80; my 'Between Fact and Fiction: The Renaissance Didactic Poetry of Fracastoro, Palingenio and Valvasone', and Isabelle Pantin, 'Res contenta doceri? Renaissance Cosmological Poetry, Classical Models and the Poetics of Didascalica', forthcoming in Haskell and Hardie, *Poets and Teachers*.

<sup>4</sup> I have records of nearly three hundred early-modern didactic poems in Latin alone and am preparing a monograph on the Jesuit contribution to the genre in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

What was the nature of that enjoyment? Unfortunately we can only speculate about the criteria by which Renaissance readers assessed the literary merits of Latin didactic poems, old or new. The genre did not attract the (over)subtle academic debates which proliferated over narrative and dramatic works in the Cinquecento. In any case, sixteenth-century literary criticism is usually less concerned with describing the subjective responses of readers than with measuring texts against objective standards derived, or adapted, from antiquity. It is perhaps too early to be thinking about 'literature for literature's sake'. Moreover, while Trecento and Quattrocento humanists had emphasised the latent moral instruction in classical mythology and poetry, didactic poetry itself was not readily subjected to their favoured allegorical mode of exegesis: its *prodesse* was too intimately bound up with its *delectare*, and its *prodesse* could be of a secular, or even controversial nature. Thus it was long after Marullus and Pontano had imitated Lucretius in their Latin poetry that Denis Lambin ventured a theoretical defence of the pagan poet on more or less literary grounds.<sup>5</sup> In the foreword to his famous edition of the *De rerum natura* (Paris, Roville, 1563), Lambin justifies the reading of Lucretius by appeal to his plain and lucid exposition of important natural questions 'sine fabularum, taliumque nugarum integumentis'. Even if he writes as an Epicurean, 'non vere... neque pie', he does so 'ingeniose, et acute, et erudite, et purissimo sermone'. Lambin implies that we can enjoy Lucretius' poetry for the grandeur of its subject and simplicity of style — without endorsing his false doctrine. Lambin's aim here is, of course, primarily apologetic. But did Renaissance readers normally and consciously distinguish between utility and literary enjoyment in didactic poems, especially those on less contentious subjects? And to what extent are the didactic poet's efforts to impart information clearly, or to persuade effectively, perceived as aesthetic, as opposed to *pedagogic* virtues in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

In his ground-breaking new book on medieval Latin didactic poetry, Thomas Haye argues that there is no determinate break between the didactic poetry of the high Middle Ages and that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and that a distinction between 'schöne Literatur' and 'Fachliteratur', especially in the German context, makes little sense.<sup>6</sup> He

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pantin, 'Res contenta doceri', in Haskell and Hardie, *Poets and Teachers*.

<sup>6</sup> *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 392. He has also found that commentaries on classical and medieval didactic poems published in the sixteenth century are 'in der Regel nicht philologisch, sondern sachlich ausgerichtet' (p. 358).

suggests that, apart from a few cases with obvious parodic intent, Latin didactic poetry produced in the sixteenth century tends to reveal a 'serious' pedagogical purpose ('ernsthafte Absicht als Medium der institutionalisierten Wissensvermittlung', p. 391). On the other hand, he seems to accept that the literary environment of the Italian Renaissance may have been a little more sophisticated;<sup>7</sup> he also admits that, since the twelfth century, didactic poems had existed 'die nicht unmittelbar Sachwissen vermitteln wollen und eher literarisch motiviert sind' (p. 365). In this paper I propose to investigate the problematic conceptual territory between 'parodic', 'literary' and 'serious' didactic poetry in the context of a sample of Latin poems written in Renaissance Italy on the model of Virgil's *Georgics*. I call this sub-genre 'recreational georgic', for reasons which will soon become apparent. Pace Haye, who holds that the didactic genre did not evolve significantly after the twelfth century, I suggest that the family of poems under review in this article exhibits a distinctively Renaissance physiognomy, albeit one combining traditional features.

Unlike those arduous and 'virile' philosophical poems written in the Renaissance on the model of Lucretius (e.g. by Scipione Capece, 'Paligenius' and Giordano Bruno<sup>8</sup>), our recreational georgic poems are permeated by an atmosphere of pleasure and even play. To avoid confusion later, I should first clarify my position vis-à-vis that of a modern classicist, Peter Toohey, who has recently advanced an interesting theory about the aesthetic of the didactic genre in antiquity.<sup>9</sup> Toohey states that: 'One of the qualities... which made didactic poetry so enduring in antiquity was the close association which our various authors display towards

<sup>7</sup> E.g. pp. 346, 373. But he implies that instruction, rather than entertainment, was uppermost in the minds of even Italian poets: 'Denn sowohl in Deutschland als auch in Italien sind viele von ihnen nicht nur Dichter, sondern — als Ärzte oder Astrologen — zugleich auch Experten innerhalb einer Disziplin' (p. 392). However, one of Haye's two favourite Renaissance examples, the astrologer-poet, Lorenzo Bonincontri, was never very representative or influential in the Italian milieu. The other, Giovanni Aurelio Augurello, may well have been appreciated as an authority on alchemy on account of his didactic poem, *Chrysopoeia*, but his literary ambitions for that work should not be underestimated. See my 'Round and Round We Go: The Alchemical *Opus Circulatorium* of Giovanni Aurelio Augurello', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59 (1997), 583-606.

<sup>8</sup> See Haskell, 'The Masculine Muse', *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> *Epic Lessons. An Introduction to Ancient Didactic Poetry* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). For obvious reasons I cannot second Toohey's exhortation to appreciate 'just how different is the didactic poetry of Greece and Rome from anything else we possess' (p. 251).

leisure and play' (p. 251). While he concedes the difficulty of accommodating Hesiod and the Presocratics within his didactic poetics of relaxation, self-referentiality and escapism, I feel that Toohey also somewhat overemphasises the ludic element in Lucretius and Virgil. The primary concepts which didactic poetry 'defines itself against' (p. 250) are, surely, not those of leisure, play and free time, but their very opposite: *work*. Thus when Ovid exhorts his audience to play ('ludite') in the *Ars Amatoria*, he is arguably underlining the parodic nature of his project by *sending up* this generic duty to work. On the other hand, as will become apparent from the following discussion, it is sometimes difficult to determine the point at which a didactic poem ceases to be a 'serious' didactic poem and becomes a 'play' or a 'mock' didactic poem. Moreover, the Neo-Latin poems we shall be examining are directed to their readers' 'leisure' in a much more obvious sense than many of those examined by Toohey.<sup>10</sup>

### Not so serious sericulture?

Vida's two books on the cultivation of silkworms are by far the most entertaining of the three Latin didactics produced in Renaissance Italy on this apparently unpromising subject.<sup>11</sup> The *Bombycum libri duo* were written for Isabella d'Este-Gonzaga, who was delighted with the 'elegantissima opera'. In his dedicatory letter to the marchesa, Vida explains that he has already spent seven years polishing the poem and claims that the subject has not been treated before, being 'tanto difficile, tanto da le

<sup>10</sup> The modern concept of 'leisure' provisionally accepted by Toohey — defined as a set of pleasurable, non-utilitarian practices requiring the application of intelligence and binarily opposed to 'work' — is somewhat anachronistic in the context of ancient reading and recreation. Cf. Peter Burke, 'Viewpoint: The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 146 (1995), 136-50. Just because readers of a certain class were *at leisure* to read Nemesianus' *Cynegetica*, or Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, does not mean that they subsumed the activities of hunting and philosophy — or of reading poems about these subjects — under a broader economy of 'leisure'.

<sup>11</sup> First published Rome, 1527. References are to book and line, not page numbers. The two other poems are Lodovico Lazarelli's *Bombyx* (Rome, 1493?), ed. Georg Roellenbleck in *Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten*, 47 (1978), 213-31, and Pier-Francesco Giustolo's *De sere seu de setivomis animalibus*, first published in his *Opera* (Rome, 1510), henceforth quoted from his *Opera, Academiae Spoletinae studio rursus vulgata ac ineditis aucta*, ed. Achille Sansi (Spoleto, 1855), pp. 18-35.

Muse abhorrente, tanto insperata e fuori l'opinione di tutti'.<sup>12</sup> It is from just this rough thread, we shall see, that the fine pleasure of the *Bombyces* is spun. Needless to say, Vida does not mean that the subject of his poem is difficult in the sense that Lucretius' philosophical subject is difficult (Lucr. 1. 136-45). If anything, there is an allusion to Columella, who in the preface to the tenth book of *De re rustica* apologises for accepting Virgil's 'difficult' challenge in *Georgics* 4, 147-8, viz. to write a Latin didactic poem on gardening:

Neque enim aliter istud nobis fuerat audendum, quam ex voluntate vatis maxime venerandi: cuius quasi numine instigante pigre sine dubio *propter difficultatem operis*, verumtamen non sine spe prosperi successus aggressi sumus *tenuem admodum et paene viduatam corpore materiam*, quae *tam exilis* est, ut in consummatione quidem totius operis annumerari veluti particula possit laboris nostri, per se vero et quasi suis finibus terminata nullo modo conspici. *Nam etsi multa sunt eius quasi membra, de quibus aliquid possumus effari, tamen eadem tam exigua sunt, ut, quod aiunt Graeci, ex incomprehensibili parvitate arenae funis effici non possit.* Quare quidquid est istud, quod elucubravimus, adeo propriam sibi laudem non vindicat, ut boni consulat, si non sit dedecori prius editis a me scriptorum monumentis. (my emphasis)

Columella's horticultural advice is 'serious' enough, even if he confesses that his poetry will appear deficient because of the trivial subject-matter. Vida, on the other hand, positively revels in the diminutive nature of his theme, realising, like Virgil, that 'in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria' (*Georgics*, 4, 6). But has Vida chosen a difficult subject merely to show off his poetic powers, as an excuse for rhetorical display? Does the *Bombyces* have a 'serious' didactic purpose? One thing seems clear at least — that Vida has a sense of humour.

The question of irony in Virgil's treatment of the bees in *Georgics* 4 is a vexed one; not so in Vida's *Bombyces*. In Virgil's poem, for example, the loss of Aristaeus' bees is occasioned by grave *hubris* and frames the moving tale of Orpheus and Eurydice. In his mannerist variation on the myth, Vida has Venus' silkworms die when their

<sup>12</sup> For the correspondence between Vida and Isabella see A. Bertolotti, 'Autografi di Girolamo Vida', *Il Bibliofilo*, 5 (1884), 183-5. According to Stephen Kolsky, Isabella may have had difficulty construing Vida's Latin, let alone savouring its subtleties ('Images of Isabella d'Este', *Italian Studies*, 49 (1984), 47-62). In any event, the gift of the poem must have pleased her inasmuch as it enhanced her image as a woman of learning.

house is knocked over by boisterous cupids at play (2, 211-22). Play is certainly an important key. The poem might be characterised, at one level, as a game, a Virgilian treasure-hunt for the attentive reader. Vida rehabilitates most of Virgil's georgic modules, with instructions on housing the worms, on protection against pests, on caring for the sick and disposal of the dead.<sup>13</sup> He is perhaps more prone than Virgil to epic parody, as when the marauding mouse: 'rages through all the halls, dripping with gore' ('saevitque per omnes | caede madens aulas', 1, 126-7). The spinning work of the 'wool-spouting youth' ('pubem lanivomam'; 1, 244-5) is an heroic performance. The valiant souls 'give their all, as if competing for the palm of honour' ('quasi de palma summas contendere vires'; 1, 348), even to the point of laying down their lives: 'so great is the glory of producing thread' ('tanta est edendi gloria fili'; 1, 343). The Virgilian line (*Georgics*, 4, 205) transfigured cannot fail to provoke a knowing smile.

While Vida anthropomorphises his silkworms, he downplays, at a stroke, the significance of their sentience. What might first look like sentimentality is as often as not motivated by a penchant for droll humour. The worms must be ushered into the 'media penetralia' of their high home, to prevent accidental falls: 'Huic generi facilis leti via. protinus aegras | Delapsae effundunt animas, lucemque relinquunt' (1, 264-5). But should the victim continue to 'feast on the air of heaven' ('coeli vescitur aura'; 1, 266), under no circumstances is he to be returned to his comrades if he has sustained injury: 'Nullam operam omnino, nullum expectabis ab illa | Certa opus. ignavum deducet inutilis aevum, | Et comitum egregias tantum mirabitur artis' (1, 270-2). This is Virgil again (*Georgics*, 4, 88-94), but the very conspicuousness of the allusion deflects attention away from the pathos of the disabled worm to Vida's poetic art. As for the fate of the unproductive worker, Vida substitutes the euphemistic 'proiice' for the expected Virgilian 'dede neci', but he is not always so coy when it comes to supplying gory details. Among the perils which await our hapless worms in the second book are the spluttering oil-lamp which 'totos deformet peste penates' (2, 97) and — 'scelus nefandum'! — the malicious lacing of their leaves with salt. (Is Vida slyly hinting at some sort of sadistic experiment?) The effect on the victim of this salt-poisoning is devastating:

<sup>13</sup> There is an occasionally Lucretian colour to Vida's verse: 'caeco... carcere claudant' (1, 342); 'aquai' (2, 68).



Protinus elucet languentibus aurea pellis,  
 Deinde tument, turpisque animis ignavia venit  
 Desidibus, tandem rumpuntur, et omnia tetro  
 Inficiunt tabo. sanies fluit undique membris,  
*Nec quicquam salso Venerem aequore profuit ortam.*

(2, 103-7; my emphasis)

The final cheeky jab of erudition — ‘nor does it avail them at all that Venus was born from the salt sea’ — abruptly deflates the tragic tone.

Elsewhere, Vida exploits the ungraceful appearance and behaviour of his grubs, especially for contrast with Virgil’s bees. They are gluttonous and have no table manners; they veritably lay siege to their ‘dapibus... opimis’:

avidae dapibus implentur opimis.  
 Fit strepitus, longe qualem olim saepe solemus  
 Cum pluit, in tecto clausis audire fenestris.  
 Nec mora, nec requies, properant, et grandia morsu  
 Attendant folia emensae, redeuntque, iterumque  
 Incumbunt, longam nequeunt explerier alvum,  
 Dum superant frondes, et plenae pabula mensae.

(1, 172-7)<sup>14</sup>

The humour arises chiefly out of our cheated expectation that the worms will do battle with each other. Indeed, within ten lines they *will* be fighting — although hardly manifesting the warrior spirit of Virgil’s bees. Vida encourages Isabella to tease her ravenous pets by having them tussle over a single mulberry-frond: ‘... prius iniice ludens | Frondem unam, ac certare sine, illae protinus omnes | Arrexere animos cupidae, praedamque capessunt | Certatim, pariterque ingens subit ardor edendi’ (185-8).<sup>15</sup> Their sexual appetite is no less voracious; in the second book we learn: ‘nec Veneris brevis usus erit, videre revincti | quartam saepe diem...’ (2, 305-6).<sup>16</sup> And when a worm shuns his food and falls asleep at the dinner table, Isabella is not to fear the outbreak of some dire disease; these workers, in pointed contrast to Virgil’s bees,

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Virgil: ‘fit sonitus, magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem | praecipitesque cadunt; non densior aere grando, | nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis’ (*Georgics*, 4, 79-81). Note how Vida’s version of the meteorological simile accentuates enclosure and domestication: ‘in tecto clausis... fenestris’.

<sup>15</sup> One is tempted to see a pun in ‘edendi’: here ‘eating’, but later (with long first syllable), ‘producing’. Cf. 1, 343 above (p. 137).

<sup>16</sup> But they are not indiscriminate in their lust, like animals of the wild: ‘Nec vero, velut in silvis genus omne ferarum, | Alitumque, vagos passim furantur amores, | Sed connubia certa, sed electi hymenaei’ (2, 299-301; cf. Catullus 64, 141).

are naturally sluggish! (1, 273-9). The bee-worm thematic is beautifully encapsulated in the at once touching and bathetic image of Venus' deceased silkworms preparing to cross the river Styx. When they recognise their mistress, who has come to rescue them, they flit around her face and applaud her with their wings, unconsciously indicating the means of their imminent salvation.

Iamque ibant umbrae tenues Styga circumfusae  
Obscura, nigrosque lacus, et rauca fluenta.  
Tum dominae adventu laetae circum ora volantes  
Nondum oblitae alis plausere, et signa dederunt  
Laetitiae nondum trans livida flumina vectae.  
(2, 239-43)<sup>17</sup>

Later, when this mythical death and resurrection is literally re-enacted by Isabella's worms, the reborn moths will *marvel* at their new bodies:

Ecce autem ut rostro follem terebravit acuto,  
Protinus erumpit (visu *mirabile monstrum*)  
Alitis in parvae bombyx collecta figuram,  
Et nova se rerum facies *mirantibus* offert.  
.....  
Haerent *attoniti rerum novitate* neque audent  
Remigio alarum se aperto credere coelo,  
Dissimilesque sui tacite nova corpora secum  
*Mirari*, forma nec sese agnoscere in illa.  
Cornua *mirantur* fronti, *mirantur* et alas...  
(2, 264-7; 273-7)

The worm wonder is infectious. The poem *itself* is designed to inspire admiration, both for its intrinsically wonderful natural subject and for the poet's impressive rhetorical rendering of it. Indeed, Vida's professed aim in this juvenile work is to win the hearts of nubile maids. They are invoked in the proem with a touch of mock-solemnity: 'Et vos o placidae properate, ubi quaeque, puellae'. In the closing lines of the poem we are advised that Italy is the land 'unde sacri viridem vates petiere coronam, | Et meritis gratas sibi devinxere puellas'.

The contours of the Renaissance Latin recreational georgic — of which Vida's *Bombyces* is a typical example — differ from those of the Virgilian prototype in a number of small but telling respects. Pontano is the father of the sub-genre with his *De hortis Hesperidum sive de cultu*

<sup>17</sup> Cf *Aeneid*, 6, 706-9, where the souls of the dead awaiting rebirth are compared to bees.

*citriorum*; it is surely no accident that this poem was dedicated to Francesco Gonzaga, future husband of Isabella D'Este, the addressee of Vida's *Bombyces*.<sup>18</sup> The scale of Pontano's Neo-Latin poem is radically diminished vis-à-vis the *Georgics*; not only because there are two books instead of four, but because the scene and consequences of the action are provincial, not national. The Bay of Naples is the enchanted setting, heavy with the perfume of Paestan roses and teeming with Pontano's trademark naiads and dryads. The Marquess of Mantua had been victorious over Charles VIII at Fornovo in 1495, as Octavian had been victorious over Antony, but Pontano's poem is directed to the prince's private pleasure, his well-earned repose, not to the glorification of a future regime. *De hortis Hesperidum* is not a programme for (nor a veiled critique of) empire, but a confined and highly artificial space in which the twentieth-century reader may feel a little claustrophobic.

In broad typological profile, then, the Renaissance Latin recreational georgic usually comprises one or two short books, treats self-consciously small-scale subjects, is informed by an almost *pastoral* mood, is trimmed with ornamental myths of metamorphosis in Ovidian rather than Virgilian vein, and celebrates a mild and domesticated Nature whose beauty and bounty can be enhanced through human industry. This is a marvellous Nature, producing luxury gifts to order for the poems' aristocratic addressees: citrus fruits, saffron, decorative climbing plants, ornamental rock gardens, perfumes, *trompe l'oeil* topiary sculpture, and, perhaps the most exquisite of all Nature's freely-bestowed favours, silk.<sup>19</sup> In his *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), Jacob Burckhardt claimed that Renaissance Italians had given voice — in poetry, letters and landscape painting — to a distinctively modern sensitivity to natural beauty. This view has become something of a cliché, but it might still be

<sup>18</sup> For itemised correspondences between Pontano's *De hortis Hesperidum* and the second book of Virgil's *Georgics*, see Walther Ludwig, 'Neulateinische Lehrgedichte und Vergils Georgica', in *Litterae Neolatinae: Schriften zur neulateinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1988), 100-27, at pp. 107-8.

<sup>19</sup> Pontano's poem was first printed in his *Opera* (Venice, 1505), ff. 138r-159v (A much less sophisticated poem on trees had been written by the Florentine humanist, Bartolomeo Scala. For what remains of Scala's [manuscript] text, see *Bartolomeo Scala: Humanistic and Political Writings*, ed. Alison Brown [Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997], pp. 426-45). Cf. Pier-Francesco Giustolo, *De croci cultu*, in *Opera* (Rome, 1510), but henceforth quoted from the 1855 Spoleto edition, pp. 4-17; Pierio Valeriano, *De milacis cultura*, probably first published in *Hexametris, Odae et Epigrammata* (Venice, 1555), quoted from *Poemata* (Frankfurt am Main, 1613), pp. 58-65; Giuseppe Milio, *De hortorum cultura* (Brescia, 1574).

worth asking ourselves to what extent the *didactic* poetry of the period — passed over in this context by Burckhardt<sup>20</sup> — is consciously oriented towards *natural description*. Do we find, in our Renaissance poems, the seeds of that fashion for panoramic landscape and botanical detail which found its full flowering in eighteenth-century English ‘georgic’, e.g. Thomson’s *Seasons*?

This does not seem to be the case. Vida’s *Bombyces* begins with a turning *away* from the state of Nature, from a golden age before Culture. The silkworms once lived in the woods, rude and uncultured like men of prehistoric times, having no concern for ‘the dignity nor the glory of fine silk’ (‘*tenui nec honos, nec gloria filo*’; 1, 17); their art hung, unappreciated, from tree branches, and was swept away by the wind and the rain. When humans discovered this divine treasure we are told that ‘they fed the wild moths in *houses* and *enclosures*’ (‘*in tectis, atque intra septa domorum | Silvestres tineas alere*’; 1, 23-4). Later, Vida cautions his pupil: ‘But I warn you, do not let them wander unaccompanied in the woods and do not fail to expend effort on their dwellings’ (‘*Sed tu ne, moneo, in silvis permittite vagari | incustoditas, nec curam adhibere recusa | in tectis*’; 1, 38-40). He lovingly describes the construction of the silkworm farm, a haven for these delicate creatures from the dangers of the wild world outside:

avium insidias, et callida furta  
Averte, illudit passer custodibus olim  
Improbis, illudit chortis cristata volucris.  
Dant stragem passim rostris immitibus, implentque  
Ingluviem, ac vivo viva *abdunt corpora busto*.  
(1, 109-13)

As will be seen from line 113, the worms are vulnerable to the same dangers as Lucretius’ primitives (cf. *Lucr.* 5, 993). Civilisation is their salvation. Like Virgil’s bees, the worms are particularly sensitive to noise (2, 113-6). One should not let curious small boys near the farm (117-24), nor accost the delicate workers with the odour of onion or garlic on the breath (125-7). The serving woman or the old woman can be harmful, with her witching songs and evil-eye (135-7). Only beautiful youths and young women may approach (138-41).

<sup>20</sup> I.e. in Part 4, ‘Die Entdeckung der Welt und des Menschen’. He briefly discusses didactic poetry in his section on Neo-Latin Poetry in Part 3, ‘Die Wiedererweckung des Altertums’.

Vida's Nature in *Bombyces* is one of sentimentalised spring, of urbane youth and good looks, starkly contrasted with the rudeness of the authentic country. *Real* Nature intrudes in the anecdote about the wild man of Viterbo, almost an evil double of Virgil's Corycian gardener (*Georgics*, 4, 116-49):

Quandoquidem memini Tusci alta in rupe Viterbi  
Ipse senem vidisse ferum, cui dira rigeant  
Ora, gravesque oculi suffecti sanguine circum,  
Fronsque obscoena situ, hirtique in vertice cani.  
Ille truci, scelus, obtutu genus omne necabat  
Reptantum, tenuis animas, parvasque volantes.  
Quin etiam si quando hortos ingressus, ubi annus  
Exuit expleto turpem novus orbe senectam,  
Floribus et passim per agros incanuit arbor,  
Ille hortis stragem dedit, arboribusque ruinam,  
Spemque anni agricolae moesti flevere caducam.  
(2, 142-52)

Uncivilised, ugly, and old, the unfortunate Viterban is portrayed as a natural disaster working against the harmonious forces of garden growth.

In sum, the *Bombyces* is quintessentially about Culture, not Nature — at least not in our modern understanding of the word. Of course, any reader of Virgil will know how intimately Culture and Nature were associated already in the Roman imagination.<sup>21</sup> But Culture in the recreational georgics of the Renaissance is, above all, *patrician* culture, and its products are designed for aesthetic contemplation and

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., David O. Ross Jr., *Virgil's Elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 14-25.

<sup>22</sup> In Valeriano's *De milacis cultura*, the seeds of the marvellous plant are compared to more precious commodities, the currency of cardinals rather than gardeners:

Semina conspicias varianti cortice picta,  
Vellera quae Assyriis vincent fucata venenis,  
Haec Meliboea velut pinxisset purpura & illa  
De collo dices pavonum hausisse colorem,  
Illa ebur, illa aurum, illa ebum simulare putabis...  
(63)

According to Prof. R. Pampiniani, whose verdict is reported by Luigi Alpago-Novello, the subject of *De milacis cultura* is the *Phaseolus oblongus* Sarci. Internal evidence suggests that the poem was composed between 1533-1534, leading Alpago-Novello to impute to Valeriano: 'l'onore... di avere fino dal 1532 introdotto, prima a Belluno e poi nel territorio di tutte e tre le Venezie, l'utilissimo e gustoso legume, il nostro fagiuolo, giustamente chiamato la *carne del povero*...' ('Spigolature Vaticane di argomento Bellunese', *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino*, 9 (1926), 69-96, p. 84).

ostentation.<sup>22</sup> Attention is frequently drawn to human artwork, and through it — often very consciously, it seems — to the poems themselves as artful constructs. The motif of weaving, one of the oldest metaphors for poetic composition, becomes especially prominent towards the end of Vida's *Bombyces*. As if with a wink, Vida tells us that there is *more than one way of weaving*: 'Nec modus est simplex texendi' (2, 362). The young girls who have been picturesquely involved at all stages of production will now create charming pastoral scenes from the threads of the harvested silk. Describing textiles which change colour with the light, Vida cannot resist an allusion to Virgil's golden bough: 'Vidi etiam varium quae mutant texta colorem, | eludantque oculos, ut *discolor aura refulsit*' (2, 371-2; my emphasis). This is precisely the sort of thing he will say about *texts* in *De arte poetica*, where he advocates — and goes on to demonstrate — an ostentatious imitation of the best classical poets.<sup>23</sup>

In *Bombyces*, moreover, Vida does not pass up the opportunity of spinning a couple of modern aetiological yarns from ancient thread. I have already alluded to Venus' patronage of the silkworms: they were a gift from Saturn, a reward for her advice on seducing a nymph, and they will provide the naked goddess with the clothing which Pallas has jealously denied her. The closing myth ends happily for 'Serius', the mythical Eastern king who is said to have brought the technology of silk to Italy. Pursuing one of the sisters of Phaethon, Serius is distraught to find that his beloved has been transformed into a tree. He literally dissolves into tears and, as the river Serio (a tributary of the Po), bathes the dryad's feet until he has penetrated her bark shell. His wedding gifts to her include, appropriately enough, fine embroidered garments from his homeland ('Cui picturatas vario subtegmine vestes, | Illusasque auro tunicas, et tenuia laetae | Texta dedit missa a patriis sibi munera terris'; 2, 428-30). The 'tenuia... texta' are emblematic of Vida's poem itself. There are overtones of Virgil's bucolic 'tenui... avena' and georgic 'in tenui labor', but the emphasis here, I suggest, is on the poem as *artifact*. Vida's *Bombyces* is a highly-finished *objet d'art* — a personalised

'People's meat' maybe — but Valeriano's Latin poem was never intended for a peasant audience!

<sup>23</sup> For Vida's endorsement of poetic piracy: 'Saepe palam quidam rapiunt, cupiuntque videri | Omnibus intrepidi, ac furto laetantur in ipso | Deprensi, seu quum dictis nihil ordine verso | Longe alios iisdem sensus mira arte dedere, | Exueruntque animos verborum impune priores' (*De arte poetica*, 3, 223-7).

antique, as it were, for one of the most discerning and acquisitive collectors of her century.<sup>24</sup>

Needless to say, the agricultural work of the *Bombyces*, assigned specifically to the fair sex, does not require any significant physical labour: '*faciles hic discite cultus*' (1, 12; my emphasis). This is much less of an 'outdoors' poem than Virgil's *Georgics*. Even if the primary addressee, Isabella, is invited to participate in the action, her duties are not to be onerous. Vida's pupil is directed to observe the stars and seasons, like Virgil's farmer, but she can delegate any hard work to her superiors in age and inferiors in social class. The task of collecting nettles and blackberries for worms born prematurely is best left to an old woman. The work is tough and the woods are full of lecherous satyrs — no place for young maidservants, let alone Isabella herself.<sup>25</sup>

Sunt aliae, quae, si foetus sibi nascitur ante  
 Quam Thysbea novis adolescat frondibus arbos,  
 Urticamque, rubosque legunt, dum plurimus humor  
 Vere subest. at tu teneris tunc parce puellis:  
 Cura, manusque arment facito, nec robora dura  
 Ascendat permittite in silvis innuba virgo.  
 Verum operum patiens anus, et cui durior annis  
 Sit cutis (ingratae facilis iactura senectae)  
 Munere fungatur tali, ne forte quis altis  
 Egressus silvis Satyrorum e gente procaci  
 Suspiciat, teneraeque pudor notet ora puellae.  
 (1, 215-25)

Vida effectively denies Isabella the satisfaction of even *feeding* her worms when he stipulates virginity as a curious requirement: '*Sed prodest, nondum thalamos experta puella | Prima manu tenera teneras si pascat alumnas*' (1, 154-5). Virgil, of course, did not seriously expect his educated readers to go out and get their hands dirty — to push the plough or spread manure — but the fiction of hard reader labour is sustained

<sup>24</sup> For Isabella's obsession with precious objects and antiques, and the unscrupulous lengths to which she was prepared to go in obtaining them, see M. C. Brown, "Lo insaziabile desiderio nostro de cose antique". New Documents for Isabella d'Este's Collection of Antiquities', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), pp. 324-53.

<sup>25</sup> To the modern reader, the poet's chivalrous concern to protect the tender thighs and reputations of blushing maids will seem a little patronising. The restriction on the girls' movement — and implicitly Isabella's — parallels Vida's earlier injunction to domesticate the silkworms ('ne... in silvis permittite vagari | Incustoditas ~ nec... permittite in silvis').

throughout the *Georgics*. In *Bombyces*, on the other hand, it is difficult to *imagine* getting our hands dirty. If Virgil's poem is a back-breaking field, Vida's is a well-tended Renaissance garden which requires only a little watering; it is interesting to observe how Vida's motifs of protective enclosure and exemption from manual duties become even more insistent in a horticultural didactic of the later sixteenth century.

### The walled garden

Giuseppe Milio's *De hortorum cultura* (Brescia, 1574) was dedicated to his girlfriend, coincidentally another Isabella.<sup>26</sup> I am unaware of any other didactic poem of any period which is written from motives of chivalry or seduction: whatever its other merits, didactic has never been considered one of the sexier genres. Towards the close of the second book, Milio is describing preparations for a local festival. Isabella magnanimously invites the young girls of the town into her secret preserve and they marvel at her luxuriant garden, vying for permission to pick the best flowers and to have their festal garlands woven by Isabella herself (2, 37-8). But she is not so generous to her neighbours. Milio assumes that Isabella will want to incite the envy of her peers with the delights of her *superior* garden: 'At tu, vicinas tibi si *invidisse* puellas | Laetum olus ISABELLA velis; si crescere in Horto | Ipsa tuo teneras cupies *felicius* herbas...' (1, 11; my emphasis). And just as *she* will not wish to share her gardening secrets with the outside world, the poet betrays a desire to keep his mistress to himself, to confine her safely within the walls of his carefully landscaped *hortus conclusus*. The symmetry and seclusion of the garden find their counterpart in Isabella's own dignified composure and reserve. When she is not retiring to a private spot appointed for meditation and prayer, she — or, at least, the ideal Isabella — will *sit* demurely in her golden-age garden, enjoying the simple fruits of her labours:

<sup>26</sup> References are to book and *page* numbers of this first (and only) edition; the text is sometimes corrupt and I have made silent emendations where possible. Milio (also known as 'Mejo' and 'Voltolina') was born in Salò in 1536, and was a founding member of the 'Academy of the Unanimous'. Angelo Querini dedicates several pages to Milio's poem in his *Specimen litteraturae quae in urbe Brixia florebat* (Brescia, 1739), reporting that even the poet's own townspeople were largely ignorant of it (Part 2, pp. 259-68). Both here and in the (unpaginated) first volume, Querini favourably contrasts Milio's modesty with the pompousness of his French successor in horticultural poetry, René Rapin!



Felix non alii virgo studiosa laboris:  
 Si haec vario non pingit acu sibi suppara textu,  
 Si sibi non alio vestis variata colore  
 Induitur, nec ferre datur sibi serica, laeto  
 En proba, nec non casta *sedet*, nulli invida, in Horto,  
 Et patiens operum, gratoque assueta labori,  
 Securos agit ecce dies, vivitque beata,  
 Optatas cui fundit opes iustissima Tellus.  
 (1, 18; my emphasis)

In one purple passage, Milio affects to allow his sweetheart a free rein in female company. A bevy of young girls throngs Isabella's garden, lingering there all day long, meeting friends, picking flowers. They may go wherever they wish, *unguarded* ('*Incustoditas quoquoversum ire puellas | Circum, interque olerum sylvas iuvat, & legere inde | Tempora queis varios ornet sibi singula flores*'; 2, 33, my emphasis). Isabella's sister takes charge of the refreshments and a ceremonious drinking party ensues. But the rites of these gentle Bacchantes are carefully controlled; their chastity (and Isabella's!) is ensured by the presence of a garrulous old woman who sits by the gate, reminiscing about her childhood. For whom, we might ask, is the fantasy really designed?

In another passage, Milio paints a pretty picture of Isabella setting an example for her servants with her enthusiastic watering:

Huc, cum prima rubens Aurora illuxerit orbi,  
 Vespere vel sero noctis surgentibus umbris,  
 Haud segnis, nec sola veni; tecum omnis in horto  
 Grex ancillarum comes adsit, quae tibi dulces  
 De puteo certatim undas dent ordine longo.  
 Te iuuet hos versare manu, mea flamma, liquores,  
 Et iactare solo, glebasque rigare calentes.  
 (3, 47)<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Valeriano, *De milacis cultura*: 'cape vasa prior, cape sedulus urnam | Ante alios (nunquam alma Pales respexit inertem | Agricolam) manibusque tuis superingere fontes, | Atque tui exemplo segnes incende ministros...' (62). Watering the garden was a respectably 'soft' assignment. With Virgil *Georgics*, 1, 269-72, compare the following idyllic passage from Pontano's *De hortis Hesperidum*:

Non me  
 Aut pudeat, dum mane suas Philomela querelas  
 Instaurat, seu maiores sol suscitāt umbras,  
 Plena manu liquidis invertere dolia lymphis,  
 Spumantemque cavis inferre canalibus amnem,  
 Solari & mollem cantu mulcente laborem...  
 (140v, my emphasis)

The vignette is interesting because it is one of the few occasions upon which Milio solicits Isabella's *active* participation in the work of the poem. But if she must make an effort to get up at dawn ('haud segnis'), Isabella is *never* exhorted to carry out any really onerous tasks. Milio has to be careful about asking his well-bred young lady to work up an unseemly glow. He negotiates the problem rather wittily in the opening lines of the poem:

Hortorum hic cultus disces; quid scilicet Hortos  
 Perpetuo laetos faciat bene olentibus herbis,  
 Ni gravibus renuis terram subvertere rastris  
 Et brevibus versam pala distinguere sulcis;  
*Non labor*, Hesperides foelices quo minus Hortos  
 Excolerent, *ullus* fecit; *labor ullus* amatos  
 Negligere Hortorum cultus, induxit Adonin;  
 Alcinoûm nunquid, cui iam phoeacia tellus  
 Paruit, & populo dixit, qui iura superbo,  
 Sub pingui puduit lactucam condere terra?

(1, (1)-1, my emphasis)

Note the playful cheating of syntactical expectation: '*No work at all...* deterred the daughters of Hesperus from cultivating their happy gardens; *no work* led Adonis to neglect his beloved horticulture', and the appeal to mythological models to excuse some of the potentially demeaning chores to come. Such chores are, in fact, almost entirely executed by Isabella's maidservants. It is they, for example, who spread dung or 'cinerem... immundum' on the clods (1, 2; 9), they who turn the soil and collect floor sweepings for compost (1, 3; 9), they who do the weeding (1, 10). As in Vida's *Bombyces*, the back-breaking labour is more suitable for a sturdy old peasant woman!

Tunc rastro versare gravi mala gramina vobis  
 Convenit, ingratumque solum mollire colendo;  
 Tunc opus est pala; debetur tunc labor Hortis  
 Praecipuus, *mihi quo sudet defessa, licet sit*  
*Frigus, & illa annis virgo matura, potensque*  
*Viribus, & duris assueta laboribus*; at tu  
 Per famulam, si dura nimis tibi rastra videntur,  
 Incultam exercebis humum ISABELLA...

(1, 3; my emphasis)

Isabella's labour, where it is required, will be decorous and almost decorative. In the charming box-clipping scene, the poet envies the good fortune of the box trees which are being skillfully trimmed by his mistress.

The peculiar syncopation generated by the repetition of 'heu' nicely echoes Isabella's manipulation of the branches and the snipping of her shears:

Tu interea, tua dum faciunt mandata sorores,  
 Frondosos rigida detundas forcipe buxos  
 Sedula, quo docte ad rectam revocentur amussim.  
 Invideo buxi vobis, formosa quod, heu me,  
 Quod mea vos Domina, *heu*, tanto dignatur honore.  
 Vos, *heu*, nunc flectit digitis, nunc alligat, *heu*, vos  
 In nodum, vestra atque simul nunc brachia nectit.  
 Sic, sibi quo nostros iuncti referatis amores,  
 Invideo vobis, proh, quae est nunc vestra voluptas?  
 Nunc vos illa manu tractat formosa decenti,  
 Vos nunc alloquitur mea vobis carmina dictans;  
 Felices buxos! quid fortunatius usquam?  
 (3, 43-4, my emphasis)

The mannerist conceit of the last two lines quoted, in which Milio imagines that Isabella will serenade the lucky box trees with his own songs, seems to recall Virgil's 'o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, I agricolas...' (*Georgics*, 2, 458-9). The effect is faintly, and perhaps deliberately, ridiculous, as in the young poet's mock-suicidal protestations of love at the beginning of this book (3, 40-1).

While the horticultural precepts laid down by Milio are by no means impractical,<sup>28</sup> the mythological confectionery, as in so many of these Renaissance georgics, may prove a little too sweet to twentieth-century taste. (Here it takes the form of a love triangle between Neptune, Tavine, a local nymph with whom he is infatuated, and her ill-fated lover, Cissus). Sweetness, in fact, is a leitmotif of the third book, where the word 'dulcis' alone occurs over twenty-five times in eighteen pages. Milio stops just short of calling the garden snails 'sweet', as they succumb to spring love:

<sup>28</sup> 'Euphrastus', the author of a prefatory letter, vouches for the accuracy of Milio's herbal remedies and supplements them with his own *Hortensia remedia ad omnes morbos*, in prose. *De horticorum cultura* was clearly understood to be a useful work, if also an elegant and enjoyable one: 'Quare habet lector horticorum perfectam & absolutam doctrinam mira versuum elegantia conscriptam. Sunt enim versus omnino elegantes, candidi, & cum admirabile suavitate graves, & magnifici. Mirus est author in rerum descriptionibus, mirus in fabellis suavissimis confingendis excitat undique delectationem ac animi quandam iucundissimam titillationem.' Euphrastus declares that Milio has surpassed Columella in literary merit.

*dulces* (res nulli incognita) flammas  
 Concipiunt, queis quaeque suis pro sensibus ardent.  
 Limaces vis grata movet nae haec ignea segnes,  
 Qui postquam *dulces* coeli hos sensere calores,  
 Laeti ab humo erumpunt, perque omnem protinus hortum  
 Obrepunt, roremque bibunt hunc undique *dulcem*.  
 Et tua decipiet limpha haec versatilis illos,  
 Atque tuas pariter terra egredientur ad undas.  
 A te quale foret mi (si his sit *dulce*) putare,  
 Quos tu olerum pestes, septique inimica viretis,  
 Monstra manu studiosa leges, condesque canistris.  
 (3, 48-9, my emphasis)

### Labor Improbis

Not all Neo-Latin recreational didactics were so ‘environmentally friendly’. Up to this point I have been discussing what might be dubbed the feminine side of the sub-genre (not to imply, however, that such poems were exclusively addressed to women). More masculine tastes were catered to by poets like Natale Conti and Pietro Angèli da Barga, who produced extended Latin hunting poems.<sup>29</sup> The emphasis in these larger works is on manly adventure, on doing heroic battle with wild beasts — although Virgil’s *Georgics* is still, interestingly, the dominant model. In Angèli’s *Cynegetica*, for example, we are confronted with a sometimes disconcerting picture of the guile and violence perpetrated on the hunted animals — and by us, after all, the poem’s implied actors — which resonates strangely with Virgil’s poignant intimations of animal sentience in the *Georgics*. These poems deserve more attention than I can devote to them here; for the purposes of the present discussion I will restrict myself to Angèli’s *Ixeuticon liber*, his unfinished poem on bird-catching.<sup>30</sup> This is a much shorter and tighter work than the *Cynegetica*, and seems to have been more

<sup>29</sup> Natale Conti, *De venatione libri IIII. Hieronymi Ruscelli scholiis brevissimis illustrati* (Venice, 1551); Pier-Angèli da Barga, *Cynegeticon libri VI* (Lyon, 1561). These poems are discussed in chapter 4 of my unpublished doctoral dissertation: ‘*Nec dulcia carmina quaeras*: Difficulty and Pleasure in Latin Didactic Poetry of the Italian Renaissance’ (University of Sydney, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> References are to the 1585 edition of the *Poemata Omnia*; emphases my own. Giuliano Innamorati reproduces a slightly different text, with facing Italian translation, in *Arte della caccia. Testi di falconeria, uccellagione e altre cacce*, 2 vols (Milan, 1965), I. ii., 120-91.

successful.<sup>31</sup> It is also something of a generic hybrid, admitting of at least one female reader,<sup>32</sup> and sharing ground with poems of the sericultural/ horticultural variety. We shall see, however, that Angèli allows a shadow to fall over that formerly cloudless, pastoral space.

The *Ixeuticon liber* opens with a frank announcement of the violence, deceit and effort that are prerequisites for this sport: 'Hinc quibus insidiis auceps instructus & armis | Decipiat volucres... Quantus & accipitrum generi labor instet habendo' (177, my emphasis). The poet lets us know in no uncertain terms that he has his work cut out for him:

Non ego nunc primum, qua vatium incedere nullus  
Est ausus, nulla usquam extant vestigia, nulli  
Ingressus, aditusque patent; immo omnia clausa,  
Omnia sunt obstructa, & sentibus obsita densis,  
Ire paro, suetus duras multo ante salebras,  
Exuperare, iterum ignotos recludere calles  
Aggredior, cursumque novo contendere campo.

.....  
Nec me suscepti vis ulla immensa laboris,  
Quaeque novis animum verborum in rebus egestas  
Angit, & obscuris praeclara inventa tenebris  
Saepe tegit, turpi victum formidine franget,  
Dulcis ut expertem laudis traducere vitam,  
Quae mihi restat adhuc, ignava per otia malim.  
(178-9, my emphasis)

The imagery of beating a path through difficult terrain recalls Lucretius, and the implication is that we readers, too, will have to put some effort into the poem. But the refusal of 'ignava otia' (last line quoted) in this

<sup>31</sup> In the nineteenth century, Giovanni Pascoli wrote of the *Ixeuticon liber*: 'Elegante, vero, vivo, tutto odoroso di campagna e selva' (*Il Bargeo* (Rome, 1896), p. 3). The poem attracted three Italian translators (q. v. *Innamorati, Arte della Caccia*, pp. 116-17).

<sup>32</sup> See below on 'Chloris', p. 151. In contrast, the countryside of Angèli's *Cynegetica* is an exclusively masculine environment, from which the hunters return to boast about their exploits to pretty girls: 'At iuvenes una villarum ad tecta reversi, | Inter se alternis convivia grata frequentant: | Et facta exponunt timidis male tuta puellis | Quisque sua' (155, my emphasis). That bird-catching was a pastime considered equally suitable for young men and women is suggested by the following passage from Milio's *De hortorum cultura*:

Quin etiam ISABELLA potes, si quando vacabit,  
Retiaque, & pedicas, laqueos, viscumque dolosum  
Ponere, fallaces caveasque cadente panico  
Tegmine supposito ingressas claudente volucres;  
Hoc namque aucupium quam te exercere iuvabit?

(1: 13)

grandiloquent proem — addressed to the young Francesco, future Grand Duke of Tuscany — is belied by the poem's peroration, a variation on the finale of *Georgics* 2, where the poet invites his girlfriend Chloris to join him in the easy life (201-2). In the countryside, far from the madding crowd, they will swim in refreshing streams and watch the shepherd leading his flocks back to stable as evening comes on; they will sing to the sweet notes of a rustic reed pipe and 'here live purely and pass a peaceful life in ease, the ease which always accompanies unbroken peace' ('hic puriter aevum | Degere, tranquillamque per otia ducere vitam, | Otia perpetuam semper comitantia pacem'). They will eat a vegetarian diet of innocent fruits ('innocuis... pomis'), grapes, strawberries and plums, and their fine fare will be procured 'without deceit' ('epulas sine fraude paratas').<sup>33</sup>

What goes before, however, is all *fraus* and *labor improbus*. Thus, after a preliminary survey of the different bird species and their roosts, we are given a taste of unpleasant things to come:

Omnibus his certas anni pro tempore fraudes  
 Texendum, certosque dolos: neque tenuia tantum  
 Retia, sed pedicas etiam, viscumque parandum,  
 Et teretes laqueos, distinctaque licia nodis  
 Tortilibus; quae cervices implexa volucrum  
 In mediis umbris hederarum, in sepibus ipsis,  
 Ante escas, dulcesque dapes, mensasque fideles,  
 Palladius inter baccas, gratosque corymbos,  
 Frangunt hinc illinc ramo religata tenaci.  
 (180)

The very syntax here is sinister. The sinewy nets tighten around the necks of the ingenuous birds at their tranquil repast (described in almost anthropomorphic terms: 'dulcesque dapes, mensasque fideles'). The delayed verb 'frangunt' breaks the idyll with its sudden violence. Angèli has clearly seasoned his poem to suit a savoury palate.

The reader of Angèli's *Cynegetica* is expressly exhorted to brave and, as it were, *epic* action.<sup>34</sup> In the *Ixeuticon liber*, too, the reader will

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15, 75-82.

<sup>34</sup> The climax of the *Cynegetica* is the boar hunt, in which the reader-hero can prove his mettle in single combat against the most dangerous of opponents ('tantumque manu petis unus honorem'). Note the frequent second-person address to heighten the excitement:

Quod si vectus equo dubiam committere pugnam  
 Forte *paras*, tantumque manu *petis* unus honorem,  
 Quo res ipsa loco sese ostentatque, iubetque

identify with the young fowler and imaginatively submit to his punishing regime:

At iuvenis, quem nulli usquam tardare labores,  
Nulla queunt gelidae remorari frigora brumae,  
Substructa e ferulis, ramisque arentibus ulmi  
Straminea latet usque casa...

.....  
Insomnisque illic peragens noctemque diemque  
Expectat...

(181, my emphasis)

But how glorious is the victory which Angèli paints for our patient hero? If all goes to plan and he catches his ducks, he 'rushes forward at last, happy and giving thanks, *bloodying his face and both hands in the slaughter of the wretched creatures*' ('Accurrit tum demum auceps, & laetus, ovansque | *Ora manusque ambas miserarum in caede cruentat*'; 181, my emphasis).

The reader-hero of the *Ixeuticon liber* is necessarily less valorous than the protagonist of Angèli's *Cynegetica*; he is hardly a fair match for his featherweight opponent. There are no wide open spaces in the *Ixeuticon* for a manly hunter to traverse. There is less room to move. To be successful the birdcatcher must sit tight and spy from the bushes. Effort is required but not obvious effort:

Hos tamen, atque alios magna occultare necesse est  
Arte dolos. absint tacitae vestigia fraudis:  
Absint & culti ferro palique, sudesque,  
Et nusquam tanti signum moliminis extet.

(182, my emphasis)

One is tempted to read this passage as a metaphor for the *poet's* labour, a neat didactic variation on 'ars est celare artem'. The smaller compass of the poem, and the almost sedentary nature of the reader's projected work, have the effect of bringing Angèli's poetic artifice into sharper focus. The reader is invited to hunt for genre commonplaces and

<sup>34</sup> .../...

Providus adductas collo moderator habenas,  
Dum gladio *ruis* infestus, dum cernuus ense  
Terga *fodis*, saevumque manu *iaculare* verutum:  
Neu ventrem, neu crura feri sus concita rumpat,  
Neu iaculum summa fixum tellure ruentis  
Transadigat costas, teque una sternat, equumque  
Purpureos late fundentem pectore rivos.

(173)

cunning allusions — even if Angèli does not leave so many, and such obvious, Virgilian tracks as Vida.

True to its georgic roots, Angèli's poem includes an aetiological epyllion. In the prelude there is a rather unsettling echo of Virgil's Corycian gardener:

Nec desunt astus alii tamen, innumeraeque  
Insidiae, unde *avibus laeti vescamur inemptis*,<sup>35</sup>  
Et nulla omnino miseris loca fida sinamus.  
Non nemora, aut agros, non quae moderator aquarum  
Regna pater Neptunus habet: non aeris oras  
Ingentes voluit coniux Iovis aurea Iuno  
Perfugium praebere ollis, tutumque receptum.  
Omnia sunt infida, & certo exposita periclo.  
(183-4, my emphasis)

Despite the claim of the poem's eighteenth-century commentator, I can find no precedent in the 'Greci Novellieri' for the fiction which now unfolds.<sup>36</sup> It seems more likely that Angèli's spiteful Jupiter is inspired by Virgil's 'pater ipse' who 'colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit' (*Georgics*, 1, 121-2). Why are there now no safe havens for the birds? Jupiter, having expelled Saturn from Olympus, was planning the destruction of his father's supporters and sad exile for the rest (of mankind?). They would have felt the full brunt of his anger 'had they not been forewarned by the song and swift flight of the birds to seek mercy through gifts and burnt offerings ('ni voce prius, ni praepete penna | Alituum moniti, veniam per dona, per aras | Expeterent', 184). Not fully satisfied with this expiation, the sadistic god redirects his anger against the birds! The golden age comes to an end and man is forced to acquire his living through labour. Now he 'begins eagerly to attack domestic animals and wild beasts and to catch birds who, up to now, had deserved no such thing' ('Coepere in pecudes avidi saevire, ferasque | Et nil tale prius meritas captare volantes', *ibid.*). As for the birds:

Nunc autem neque secreta sub valle quietes,  
Nec pennis variatus honos, nec in aere nidi

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Georgics*, 4, 133: 'dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis'.

<sup>36</sup> G. P. Bergantini, *Il Falconiere di Jacopo Augusto Tuano dall'esametro latino all'endecasillabo italiano trasferito, ed interpretato; Coll'Uccellatura a Vischio di Pietro Angelio Bargeo...* (Venice, 1735), p. 23 of his text of Angèli's poem. The poet himself introduces the story as a 'vana superstitio veterum'.



Profuerunt miseris. *mortalia pectora caecus*  
*Urget amor praedae, luxusque expulsor honesti.*  
 (185, my emphasis)

This apparent condemnation of the ‘blind love of prey and luxury, ouster of decency’ is immediately followed by an admonition to return to our work. Such abrupt transitions are not infrequent in the *Ixeuticon liber*. Angèli exhorts us to apply ourselves to the remaining arts (*‘Quare age, & ad reliquas confer te providus artes, | Quae superant: lentisque tenax inducere viscum | Funiculis, iunco e tenui, spartove, genistave, | Et capita ad stagni ripas religare memento’*, *ibid.*). The tension between the injunction to do and the injustice of what is to be done is never resolved. Angèli obliges us to be cowardly poisoners, to administer the grand toxins of tragedy to pathetically tiny and unheroic victims:

Est etiam, hirsutae passim qui grandia lappae,  
 Quique venenato flaventia semina succo,  
 Inter diversis immistas frugibus escas  
 Spargat hyoscami, Graio quae nomine dicta est  
 Herba: soporatam neque enim velocius ulla  
 Vis agit exturbans mentem, & vertigine tentat.  
 Hac olim Alecto rabiem coniecit in atram  
 Aeoliden, Ino letum fabricata novercae.  
 Hac quoque praeclari pulcherrima filia Solis  
 Impatiens ira, odioque immanis & ardens  
 Succinxit Scyllae latrantibus inguina monstis.  
 (186)

Sometimes the moral blame is deflected on to the birdcatcher’s accomplices. When revenge is taken on marauding partridges and the ‘improbis anser’,<sup>37</sup> domestic geese are installed in the booby-trapped fields to lure their hungry cousins:

Praeterea medio in spatio prope retia, qua sunt  
 Insidiae, fraudesque omnes, eat unus & alter  
 Assimilis pennam, collumque domesticus anser,  
 Voce vocans, strepituque feros. illi imbribus altis,  
 Frigoribusque acti brumalibus ad sata culta  
 Advenient, densoque implebunt agmine campum:  
 Et procul insidiis laeta inter farra volatum  
 Sistentes ima fibras tellure revellent,  
 Spem provisam anni...  
 (189)

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Georgics*, 1, 119.

But the wild birds are canny and suspect that something is awry and must be lulled into confidence by your 'faithful Achates, companion in spoils and pleasing pains' ('fidus Achates... praedae socius, gratique labori'). Our 'fidus Achates' turns out to be something of a *perfidus* Achates. The young man approaches the flock from the rear, pretending to till the earth, nonchalantly singing and talking to himself until he has driven his victims into the waiting nets. The bird-catcher's crafty companion returns later as a 'noctisque comes, blandique laboris'. In this episode, which stands out in the poem for its pathos and almost painterly quality, the birds are stunned by the torch-light of evening stalkers:

Quandoquidem densas volucres dum forte per umbras  
 Miratae splendorem oculis hausere, neque ullum  
 Comminus ire vident, illic, ubi Sole sub undas  
 Demerso placidae se composuere quieti,  
 Stant immotae omnes, claroque a lumine nusquam  
 Declinant, flectuntque aciem; tum tu ipse propinquos  
 Siste gradus: noctisque comes, blandique laboris  
 Circumiens verso reti superobruat agmen.  
 (192)

The strange little night tragedy is followed by a comedy: 'Praeterea, si te laetae spectacula pugnae | Ulla trahunt, sequiturque animum iucunda voluptas, | Dum mores, astusque acres miraris, & iras | Ali-tuum...' (192). We seem to have been transported back to the scene of Virgil's fighting bees (*Georgics*, 4, 67ff.), but instead of standing back to observe and marvel at the spectacle of Nature, Angèli asks us to make our own entertainment, to *intervene*:

Continuo instituenda tibi multa arte volucris,  
 Privatimque domi cultu educenda frequenti  
 In quoscumque dolos. nimirum ut retibus adstet  
 Assidens, aliasque in caeca pericula voce  
 Alliciat...

The treacherous little bird will challenge other males to fight him. One by one they will succumb and become entangled in the trapper's net. Their motives for joining battle are impure, but their methods, at least, are honourable; they are ashamed to rush on the enemy in battle formation: 'Impulsi stimulis, atraque libidine caeci | Accurrunt non una omnes. pudet agmine facto | Irruere, atque hostem non aequo invadere marte' (193). The methods of the birdcatcher who has trained a female

‘Mata Hari’ bird are not so honourable. The whole flock, following their leader, will be lured to their doom:

At vero tantas fuerit si foemina fraudes  
 Docta tibi, maculasque inter ponatur inanes,  
 Ut canat, & misere tamquam captiva queratur,  
 Ipse salax voce audita dux agminis ibit  
 Impatiens, circumque plagas errabit apertas.  
 Nec prius absistet, quam rara in retia sese  
 Induerit, secumque gregem male sanus amicum  
 Perdiderit...

But if the bird-catcher is licensed to dissimulate, there are, in the end, no prizes for the bird who double-crosses his master:

Quas inter tibi si quis erit, qui stridere acutum  
 Turdus amet, *hunc tu cerebro compescere fracto*  
*Ne dubita.* iubet iste alios discedere longe  
 Proditor, & tutas cursum contendere ad oras.  
 (200, my emphasis)

By focussing on these — to us — disquieting passages I do not wish to suggest that the *Ixeuticon liber* was ever meant as a veiled indictment of bird-catching. It would, of course, be anachronistic to impute an anxiety about the injustice of bloodsports to Angèli and his contemporary readers. What is remarkable about this poem, I submit, is the attempt to imitate not only the language, but also the tonal light and shadow of Virgil’s *Georgics*. Angèli has perhaps sought to give us a flavour of Virgil’s ‘labor improbus’, to recreate something of, e. g., the sinister comparison of agriculture to war in book 2 (‘ut saepe ingenti bello...’, 279-83), or to capture the notes of the bereaved nightingale whose nest has been robbed by the ‘durus arator’ in 4. 512-13. But to what extent does Angèli’s variation on the Virgilian ‘culture and cruelty’ theme remain within the realms of intertextuality? On one level, as I have already hinted, that is precisely where it is located. Where Vida’s silk-worker weaves pretty scenes, Angèli’s bird-catcher weaves clever traps. For both, arguably, this weaving is metapoetic, highlighting the poet’s generically self-reflexive work.

## Conclusion

To return to the questions posed in my introduction, how ‘serious’ is the sub-genre of Renaissance Latin recreational georgic? If the serious

didactic poet — e.g. Lucretius, Virgil, Manilius — asks us to *think* or to *do*, what are we to make of Pontano's instructions, in the opening lines of his seminal *De hortis Hesperidum*, to *relax*?<sup>38</sup> Instead of an invocation to the gods or Muses, Pontano extends an invitation to the nymphs: 'Quo solem vitetis, iniqui & syderis aestum, | Hac mecum placida fessae requiescite in umbra | Gratorum nemorum...' (1505, 138r).<sup>39</sup> From the outset, the character of the poem seems to be more bucolic than georgic. Now is the time for repose and pleasure:

*Ocia nunc, hortique iuvent, genialiaque arva,  
Quaeque & Amalpheae foecundant littora sylvae  
Citrigenum decus, Hesperidum monumenta sororum,  
Deliciae quoque & ipsa tuae. Peneia Phoebum  
Delectant Tempe, fraternaue pectora Lauri.*  
(138v, my emphasis)

We have seen that the physical labour required of the reader of Vida's and Milio's poems is largely effaced — or, at least, *displaced* on to the serving class.<sup>40</sup> In Vida's *Bombyces*, especially, it is the *poet's* labour which is put on show; his ironic treatment of a subject 'abhorrent to the Muses' seems to constitute a virtuosic display of, if anything, *difficulté vaincue*. On the other hand, we are not necessarily dealing with parody, of which Vida's *Scacchia Ludus* would be a more obvious example.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ease of work is a recurrent theme in poems of this sub-genre, e.g. Giustolo: '*Sed labor is facilis: pueri innuptaeque puellae | Per ludum id peragunt...*' (12); Valeriano: '*Qua vero hanc cultus Milacem ratione gubernes, | Ne faciles pigeat quemquam tentare labores; | Quid sit opus facto expedium, laetusque docebo*', and then (rewriting *Georgics*, 1, 121-2): '*Nam pater, omne bonum qui dat mortalibus, ipse | Hanc facilem esse viam Milaci concessit*' (59).

<sup>39</sup> The Muse Urania, having accompanied Pontano on a long journey through the cosmos in his astrological poem of that name, appears now almost as an avatar of Venus. She is to be greeted with '*rore Idalio & Syrio... odore*' (138v).

<sup>40</sup> In Giustolo's *De croci cultu* the aristocratic addressee is replaced by an anonymous *rusticus*, addressed either in the third person:

*Tum levibus sulcis gemino locet ordine, putri  
Exsaturetque fimo, terraque obducit inerti  
Rusticus, et facili perlustret turgida rastro  
Caerulei paritura decus mox semina floris.*

or in the second:

*Praedia nam revocant rediviva consita messe,  
Et celeri rapienda manu nova germina florum  
Surgere multiplici cogunt te, rustice, culmo.*

(10, 13; my emphasis)

<sup>41</sup> See: *Game of Chess: Marco Girolamo Vida's Scacchia Ludus, with English Verse Translation and the Text of the Three Earlier Versions*, ed. Mario A. Di Cesare (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975).

The *mock*-didactic genre of Vida's chess poem is clearly signalled in its opening lines: '*Ludimus effigiem belli, simulataque veris | Praelia, buxo acies fictas, et ludicra regna*' (my emphasis). That is a poem about an unreal world, a *game*, and one which the poet does not undertake to teach in any systematic way. In contrast, the recreational georgic poems discussed in this paper are ostensibly about the 'real' world, and offer factual advice which is generally sound, practical and rationally organised.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, before we conclude that our Renaissance georgic poets make no extra-textual demands on their readers — that the *prodesse* in these poems is merely a pretext for the *delectare* of classical imitation — we should be mindful of the nature of their original audience. Such poems are not simply dedicated to, but, in an even more exclusive sense, *custom-made* for aristocratic ladies and gentlemen. The fictional physical labour *must* be carefully moderated to remain within the bounds of social decorum. There can be no question of the addressees of such poems being obliged to work. But this fact highlights a nice paradox; the 'labour' projected in the Renaissance recreational georgic is class-, even gender-specific, and thus, in theory, more imaginatively accessible by its target audience than that of Virgil's *Georgics*. If Virgil's readers are not the subsistence farmers he instructs and describes in the *Georgics*, Vida, Milio and Angèli are holding up a mirror to the real — or at least, potential — leisure pursuits of their addressee-actors.<sup>43</sup> The work

<sup>42</sup> Not always, admittedly. Carried away by his love for Virgil, Vida advocates the technique of *bougonia* for generating silkworms (2, 332–43)! On the other hand, an eighteenth-century translator of *Bombyces*, the Reverend Samuel Pullet, could write: '... and tho' Virgil's Georgic on bees may have more grandeur and colouring in it than this on the silkworm, yet it must be allowed that Vida has adhered more strictly to his subject, and given more accurate and true instruction' (Dublin, 1750, unnumbered preface). Pullet supplements the poem with a page of minor corrections and practical tips; one has the impression that he — and Vida — knew quite well what they were talking about.

<sup>43</sup> In *De milacis cultura*, Valeriano begs his addressee, Alessandro de' Medici, not to spurn his 'tenuem... Musam, | Si magnis vacuus curis quandoque gravatum | Exhilarare animum studiis levioribus optas'. The poet reminisces about the warrior's youth, at which time he had introduced him — 'dux vester eram' — to the study of the Muses. Note that the activities which 'pleased, please and will always please' include gardening and hunting — the very subjects of Renaissance recreational georgic:

tu seria toto  
Pectore condebas, tu lusum & amoena iocorum  
Colloquia, haud rigido aspernatus corde, probabas,  
Non aberat studium hortorum, non cura rapacum  
Accipitrumque canumque, & equorum: haec omnia recte  
Et modice placuere, placent, semperque placebunt.

(58)

described in these Renaissance poems may look very much like play, but it is work which the poet, no matter how tactfully, asks his reader *to do*.

I should qualify the 'work *described*', because it is precisely here that we can draw a line between the Renaissance, and a certain, influential, modern reading of didactic poetry. Hegel, in his *Aesthetics*, barely distinguished didactic from descriptive poetry.<sup>44</sup> Closer to our time, one is reminded of Patrick Wilkinson's identification of the *Georgics* as the first descriptive poem in Western literature:

I believe that Virgil came to realise through reading Lucretius that an accumulation of detailed observations, however commonplace in themselves, may compose a great panoramic picture, and that the framework for this could be a didactic treatise. It is not the imperative verb but the object that is significant; and the total impression transcends the sum of the contributors. The *Georgics* is, in fact, the first poem in all literature in which description may be said to be the chief *raison d'être* and source of pleasure.<sup>45</sup>

This does not seem to be a *Renaissance* understanding of Virgil, at least as revealed in the Renaissance Latin recreational georgic. Our poets, like Virgil, are still soliciting a certain amount of activity — not just observation<sup>46</sup> — from their readers. We may never know, of course, whether an individual poet's instructions were actually put into practice.<sup>47</sup> I would like to suggest, however, that the very *possibility* of reader action — the scope afforded by the poem for the reader's (at least) imaginative collaboration in its hypothetical 'work' — may have been as important to the aesthetic success of this sub-genre in the Renaissance as those qualities which we conventionally designate as 'literary'.

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<sup>44</sup> '[Didactic poetry] can seldom get along without sketching external situations and individual phenomena.... As in the didactic poem so too, therefore, in descriptive poetry episodes enter as enlivening decoration, especially the sketching of moving feelings, of sweet melancholy....' (*Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), I, 424-5, my emphasis).

<sup>45</sup> L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Vergil. A critical survey* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> *Description* certainly plays a key role in many eighteenth-century didactics — but that is another story. See e.g. D. L. Durling, *Georgic Tradition in English Poetry* (New York, 1935) and W. P. Jones, *The Rhetoric of Science: A Study of Scientific Ideas and Imagery in Eighteenth Century English Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966).

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Pullein, at least, had no doubt that Vida's *Bombyces* 'did, in his time, prompt many persons of fortune and distinction to encourage the silken manufacture in several parts where it had not been introduced' (see above, n. 42).

Clark COLAHAN, Alfred RODRIGUEZ and Warren SMITH

## JUAN MALDONADO'S *BACCHANALIA* AND THE YOUNG LAZARILLO

We have recently argued elsewhere that the humanist Juan Maldonado — Erasmian critic of Spanish society, classical scholar, author of a variety of Latin literary writings that include both the satiric and the slapstick — is the most probable author yet identified for the *Lazarillo de Tormes*.<sup>1</sup> In that study, focused primarily on Maldonado's best known works, we did not present a number of his briefer literary exercises, including his *Bacchanalia*. In our view, this forty-four page story, totally unstudied until now, offers — beyond its own intrinsic merits, and its exemplary reflection of Maldonado's humanistic attempt to fuse the Classical and the Christian, with which we shall deal shortly — some close and illuminating literary parallels to that famous short novel.

Entitled in full, *Geniale iudicium sive Bacchanalia*, 'The Festive Judgment or Bacchanalia', it was published in 1549 in Burgos by the printer of the *Lazarillo*, Juan de Junta, as were all of Maldonado's works. It is the next-to-the-last piece in a collection, all by the same author, that includes both serious doctrinal studies (e.g. *De Senectute Christiana*, 'On Christian Old Age') and festive pieces (e.g. *Ludus Chartarum*, 'Card Game'<sup>2</sup>): *Joannis Maldonati Opuscula Quaedam Docta Simul, & Elegantia*.<sup>3</sup> Written as a dialogue, without narrator, it

<sup>1</sup> See Clark Colahan and Alfred Rodriguez, 'Juan Maldonado and *Lazarillo de Tormes*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 72 (1995), 289-311.

<sup>2</sup> For comments on the latter, see C. Colahan, 'El asturiano renacentista, rey del juego', *Archivum*, 41-42 (1991-1992), 65-75. All translations from the Latin are ours.

<sup>3</sup> Maldonado's *Bacchanalia*, which we offer, with an English translation, as part of our text, may thus be added to the impressive list of this important author's works — largely unstudied for 400 years (see M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, México, 1966) — that have been translated in the latter third of this century: V. Fernández Vargas, *La revolución comunera* (Madrid, 1975); E. Asensio and J. Alcina Rovira, *Paraenesis ad Litteras/Exhortación a las buenas letras: Juan Maldonado y el humanismo español en tiempos de Carlos V* (Madrid, 1980); M. Avilés, *Sueños ficticios y lucha ideológica en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1980); M. A. Durán Ramas, *Hispaniola/ La española* (Barcelona, 1983); L. J. Peinador Marín, 'Un diálogo del Siglo XVI: *Eremitae* de Juan Maldonado', *Criticón*, 52 (1991), 41-90.

creates a courtroom scene in which the characters are Fiery, a law officer; Time as judge; Gluttony as plaintiff; Continence as the accused; Filth as witness for Gluttony; and Shame as witness for Continence. Although there are some perceptible echoes of traditional medieval literary renditions of the allegorical conflict between 'Carnaval' and 'Cuaresma',<sup>4</sup> a more likely direct literary model is Livy's account — in chapters eight through nineteen of the thirty-ninth book of his *History of Rome* — of the events surrounding what he refers to as the Bacchanalian Conspiracy, leading to the famous decree of the Roman Senate (186 B. C.) outlawing the worship of Bacchus. We will examine first the parallels between Livy and the *Bacchanalia*, then the ties that link both to the *Lazarillo*.

In Livy, the spread of the Bacchic cult in the Roman Republic is described, along with its criminally orgiastic activities, how it was discovered by the authorities, and the lengthy trial at which witnesses for both sides were summoned and the leaders sentenced to imprisonment or death. The scholarly Maldonado's choice of title suggests an intended *geniale*, 'festive', (perhaps in a double sense: delightful, and taking place during a festival) retelling of the historic investigation and trial. Besides the common courtroom setting, and other parallels that we will point out, much of Livy's vocabulary also occurs in Maldonado's *Bacchanalia*. That Maldonado would have read Livy's text is quite possible, given the fact that, first published in Rome circa 1469, two new editions (1531, 1535) had very recently appeared in Basel.

Very plausibly with the reading from Livy in mind, in his *Bacchanalia* Maldonado fuses the vices and carnival season of Christian Europe with the myth of Bacchus and the classical Bacchic rites.<sup>5</sup> As indicated, the action takes place during the annual Bacchanalia in Spain, i. e., carnival.<sup>6</sup> Gluttony accuses Continence of having entered the plaza, where

<sup>4</sup> Besides the fact that the occurrence being judged takes place during carnival time, and that the contending forces are generally similar (Carnival/Gluttony vs. Lent/Continence), the descriptions in the *Bacchanalia* of physical fighting between the two forces, as offered in testimony, somewhat echoes, for example, Juan Ruiz's text, from *El libro de buen amor*, 'De la pelea que ovo don Carnal con la Quaresma'.

<sup>5</sup> The cult of Bacchus in classical times, and the myths from which it sprang, were no secret in the sixteenth century. Besides the Livy text referred to, Maldonado, a Latin teacher by profession, would have known of it through numerous classical descriptions in Renaissance editions. Euripides' *Bacchae*, for example, had been published in Musurus' Aldine edition in 1503. See further Andreas Emmerling-Skala, *Bacchus in der Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> See W. F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, trans. R. B. Palmer (Bloomington, 1965), p. 88.



the former was carousing with her Bacchic followers, and striking her down: "... nunc ab una Continentia iactor: diesque mihi meoque fraterculo Baccho sacros extorquet sibique vindicat" (39 v); 'Now I am tormented by Continence alone. She steals away from me days which are sacred to me and to my little brother Bacchus. She steals them and lays claim to them herself.' This direct Bacchic connection — suggestive, given the parallel judicial contexts indicated, of a Livian presence in the elaboration of Maldonado's *Bacchanalia* — is reinforced both by the title itself and by the chorus of Bacchantes at the close of Gluttony's indictment speech, which invokes both Bacchus and Liber (the latter an Italian deity of the vine later replaced by the cult of Bacchus): "Io Bacche, Liber io tua canimus praeconia" (45r); 'Io Bacchus! Io Liber! It is your praise that we sing.'

Throughout the *Bacchanalia* Gluttony (closely identified with the Bacchic) is equated with general sinfulness, to such an extent that Continence can openly state: "cum haec ipsa negare non possit me esse bonorum omnium fontem, se vero malorum seminarium" (47v-48r); 'for she herself cannot deny that I am the source of all good things, whereas she is the seedbed of evils.'<sup>7</sup> This identification of a Bacchic Gluttony with all sinfulness is stressed in the *Bacchanalia* as she lists many famous rulers, including several Roman emperors, whose general moral degradation she describes as subjection to her. She recounts that when she received news of Christ's incarnation and sacrifice to save humankind she was terrified. However, she took heart on going to Rome, where she stayed, finding that in that courtly society all selfish desires and vices were highly honored (41v). In Livy, it should be noted, the prosecutor states that from the cult of Bacchus has arisen all that is evil in Rome: "quidquid his annis libidine, quidquid fraude, quidquid scelere peccatum est";<sup>8</sup> 'whatever sins have been committed in these years by violent desires, by deceit, or by crimes.'

The idea that the Bacchic worship of self-indulgence, as represented by Gluttony, is a cult competing with Christianity, and drawing away its

<sup>7</sup> The use of Gluttony — the sin of incontinence or lack of self-discipline most widely incurred in and most familiar to all — as an emblem for sinfulness in general was and remains commonplace. For Maldonado's own age, see, for example, Fray Luis de Leon, *Poesías*, ed. by J. F. Alcina (Madrid, 1990), p. 114; and, for a more contemporary usage, see, for example, C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters, Mere Christianity, Surprised by Joy* (New York, 1992), pp. 86-90.

<sup>8</sup> Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, 39,16, 2.

members, is a basic construct of Maldonado's piece. Similarly in Livy, the prosecutor of the Bacchic cult reminds his audience that their ancestors have always prohibited any religious observances that differ from the official cult of the nation.<sup>9</sup>

The completion of the accusation (by Gluttony) and the rebuttal (by Continence) is followed in Maldonado's *Bacchanalia* by the introduction of Filth as a witness supporting Gluttony, followed in turn by testimony from Shame in favor of Continence. In Livy, the judges summon not only the accusers but also "sacerdotes eorum sacrorum, seu viri seu feminae essent" (39, xiv); 'the priests of their rites, whether they were men or women.'

A feature of the cross-examination administered to Filth by Time and Shame is Filth's use of both outright lies and prevarication, sometimes in combination with word play.<sup>10</sup> The judge instructs Filth, for example, "Dic tandem quae prior adorta" (54r); 'Tell us, finally, which woman attacked first.' The reply is, "Pares videbantur aetate; neque divinaverim facile quae sit annosior." 'They seemed equal in age. I would not be able to guess easily which one is the older.' Livy, similarly, stresses that the bacchantes not only engaged in murder and rape but also gave false testimony.<sup>11</sup>

Filth in particular is rendered a literary *simulacrum*, if not a Christianized replica, of Bacchus himself, as negatively perceived through Christian eyes. The link between the two is clearly suggested on several occasions. During the judge's attempt to elicit from Filth his and his father's names in the past (*antea*), Filth tells the judge that he has been known as 'Piglet', since he was suckled by a sow,<sup>12</sup> and as 'Swallow', since he sucked the 'blood' out of the grapevines, but that his name is Bibacchus, a word that suggests both a drunkard and the god Bacchus (51v). Since the list of characters and the indication of who speaks the lines have announced to the reader from the beginning that this is Filth, and since Shame later reveals that Filth acquired his name when, in a drunken stupor, he fell into a latrine while trying to escape the flames of

<sup>9</sup> Livius, 39, 16, 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> The prevaricative word-play will be indicated, as it appears, in the translation of Maldonado's *Bacchanalia* that follows.

<sup>11</sup> Livius, 39, 8, 7.

<sup>12</sup> With regard to Bacchus' being orphaned at birth, the myths recount that his mother died in a sexual encounter with Jupiter in his unmitigated divine form. See Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 65; and E. R. Dodds, *Commentary: Euripides, Bacchae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1986), p. 63.

Rome set afire by Nero (52r), the burlesque identification of the exalted god of classical antiquity with a repulsive vice within the Christian world-view is almost explicit.

It is in Maldonado's use of the figure of Bacchus, Bacchic rites and Bacchic myth in his *Bacchanalia* that several parallels to the *Lazarillo de Tormes* appear. The parallels gain special importance, of course, in a writer who very possibly, in our opinion, is the author of that literary gem. The connection between these two Maldonadian works becomes most clear when one bears in mind the author's identification, in the *Bacchanalia*, of the Bacchic as an ancient expression of all that is corrupt and sinful.

The most significant of these parallels relate to what Professor Herrero has identified, to use his term, as fundamental 'icons' of that picaresque novel's initial 'tratado': the bull, the wine and the sausage.<sup>13</sup> The first 'tratado' of the *Lazarillo* contains the process of the young protagonist's self-discovery and his development of a vital philosophy in the face of the harsh realities of life. This occurs under the mentorship of the blind beggar, his surrogate father ("El respondió que así lo haría y que me recibía, no por mozo, sino por hijo,"),<sup>14</sup> just as the infant Bacchus was twice parented.<sup>15</sup> The parallel continues via 'icons' that, as we shall see, are all traditionally identified with Bacchus.

There is clearly a moment, early in the text, when Lazarillo makes a commitment to the self-indulgent, read 'sinful', Bacchian life. It is the episode of the stone bull. With few exceptions,<sup>16</sup> critics have drawn a blank as to what symbolism is behind this first taste of the blind master's

<sup>13</sup> We are not convinced by Herrero's elevation of the 'turnip' to the status of icon. It is useful to his Freudian reading of undeveloped phallic symbolism, but is otherwise a minor element in the narration. See J. Herrero, 'The Great Icons of the *Lazarillo*: The Bull, the Wine, the Sausage and the Turnip', *Ideologies and Literature*, 1 (1978), 10-12.

<sup>14</sup> *Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. by F. Rico (Madrid, 1987), p. 22. All quotes from the novel will be from this edition.

<sup>15</sup> Bacchus, taken into a hollow in Jupiter's thigh upon his mother's death, and there cared for, was known, in consequence of this second parenting, as Twice Born. See Otto, *Bacchae*, 65; Dodds, *Dionysus*, p. 78; and Euripides' text, pp. 88-98. For the perception of the blind beggar as Lazarillo's 'father', see, for example, H. Sieber, *Language and Society in La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (Baltimore, 1978) p. 2; and S. J. Nowak, Jr., 'The Blindman's New Function: An Exemplum of the Capital Sin of Anger in *Lazarillo de Tormes*', *Hispania*, 73 (1990), 901.

<sup>16</sup> Herrero's various symbolic interpretations of the animal ("The Great Icons," 6-8) do not include a Bacchian association. For a more recent, non-Bacchian, interpretation of the bull, as an emblem of irrational anger, the bridge and the river, see Nowak, 'Blindman's', 900-901.

character.<sup>17</sup> But Bacchus was often worshipped in the form of a bull, by association with the bulls that were sacrificed and eaten in place of the boy god in the myth.<sup>18</sup> Its location on the bridge, in the *Lazarillo*, recalls the fact that, as the central figure of a fertility cult, Bacchus was tied to water. As Otto points out: "The cults and myths are as explicit as they can be about the fact that Dionysus comes out of the water and returns to it, and that he has his place of refuge and home in the watery depths."<sup>19</sup> In the novella, the stone animal, although its shape is fairly ambiguous, is twice referred to specifically as a bull. When it is first mentioned, the narrator says, "llegando a la puente, está a la entrada della un animal de piedra, que casi tiene forma de toro..." When the master instructs him to put his head next to it he says, "llega el oído a este toro y oirás gran ruido dentro dél" (23).

The suggestion that the bull, as symbol of Roman Bacchus/Greek Dionysus, stands for an evil religion, the contrary of Christianity (as noted in the *Bacchanalia*), is present in the reference to the bull as a devil: "diome una gran calabazada en el diablo del toro..." (23). The same echo can be found in the blind master's warning, "Necio, aprende, que el mozo del ciego un punto ha de saber más que el diablo" (23). In the earliest Greek writings that have come down to us, there is already, in Heraclitus, the assertion that "Hades and Dionysus, for whom they go mad and rage, are one and the same."<sup>20</sup> It is not farfetched even to conjecture that Maldonado could have suspected an archeological link between the Salamancan bull and the Bacchic rituals. Such ancient stone figures found in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, could well have been recognized in the Renaissance as vestiges of the cult of Bacchus, the equivalent Greek Dionysus, or some Iberian avatar of that god.

The focus on hearing the bull's noise might allude to the well-known association of the Bacchic cult with noise in its orgiastic rituals. One of the names by which the god was known was, for this reason, the Roarer, and in Homer he appears as Loud Shouter.<sup>21</sup> In Maldonado's *Bacchanalia*, the description of the frenzied revels includes the phrases, "ardebant

<sup>17</sup> *Lazarillo*, ed. Rico, p. 22, n. 44.

<sup>18</sup> See Otto, *Dionysus*, pp. 80, 165-66, 192; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic and Religion* (New York, 1940), pp. 464-65; and Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, p. xviii.

<sup>19</sup> Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> Cited by Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 116.

<sup>21</sup> See Otto, *Dionysus*, pp. 92-93; and Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, pp. 89, 165.

animi, clamores ingeminabantur; gemebant saucii, cadebant multi" (36v); 'passions grew hot, shouts were repeated; the wounded were groaning, and many were falling.' In Aeschylus it is said that during such orgies "frightening apparitions roared from somewhere out of the darkness with the voice of the bull".<sup>22</sup>

The painful experience of the boy trying to hear the bull's noise, then being told, in effect, to trust and look out for no one but himself, is an unmistakable initiation.<sup>23</sup> The idea of initiation is stressed by Lazarillo's narration: "Parescióme que en aquel instante desperté de la simpleza en que, como niño, dormido estaba. Dije entre mí; 'Verdad dice éste, que me cumple avivar el ojo y avisar, pues solo soy, y pensar cómo me sepa valer'" (23). Bacchus was similarly awakened from his cradle by the noise of the revellers, musicians, hymn singing or wild dancing in his honor, and made aware in this way of his divinely self-indulgent nature.<sup>24</sup> Remarkably similar are the novel's references to noise, awakening from sleep, and the embrace of the self-indulgent philosophy — essential in confronting the insolidarity of the human condition — that becomes the guiding principle in Lazarillo's life.

<sup>22</sup> Cited by Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 166. Livy, Maldonado's probable source, recounts that the cultists covered the sound of the screams of their victims with "ululatus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu" (39.8.8); 'howling and the din of drums and cymbals.' The consul who makes the accusation against the bacchantes says that the citizens have become aware of the problem through "crepibus" and "clamoribus," 'clattering' and 'shouting' (39, 15, 6-9). For the use of the kettledrum in Bacchic rites, specifically to reproduce the sound of a bull, see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, pp. 83-85.

<sup>23</sup> In his *Vitae Sanctorum brevi elegantique stylo compositae: et ad breviarii modum ac usum perquam decenter accommodatae per Joannem Maldonatum. Qui nunc eas simul et scholia correxit; et in nativum candorem restituit* (Burgis: Lucam de Cañete, MDXLVIII), Maldonado, in relating the life of St. Sylvester, refers to a bull, to whispering into its ear and violence, in a competition between Christianity and Judaism: "Nam et taurum, quem Iudaeus quidam magus, verbis in aurem prolatis, interemerat, Iesu verbo suscitavit ac cicuravit (xiiir)." 'For a bull, which a certain Jewish sorcerer had killed by some words spoken in its ear, he [Sylvester] brought back to life by the word of Jesus, and tamed it.'

In Livy (39, 9, 2 sqq.), the plot revolves around a stepfather who, with the mother's consent, attempts to force a terrified young man to be initiated into the Bacchic rites in order either to get rid of him or to make him more submissive. The dangerous and corrupting nature of the rites is warned against by the young man's girlfriend: "ubi omnia infanda patienda primum, deinde facienda essent." 'where everything that is abominable must first be endured, then finally committed' (39, 10, 8). Lazarillo's mother handing the boy over to his other 'father', followed almost immediately by his violent introduction to the mindset required by his new life, seems a close parallel.

<sup>24</sup> Otto, *Dionysus*, pp. 80-82, 99, 194.

Of the 'icons' indicated, wine is undoubtedly paramount in the novella: "The image of wine is one of the more significant of the *Lazarillo*. It plays a double role in the novella: by itself, it has a very rich metaphoric value; it also serves as a unifying structural element which links the beginning of the book to its end."<sup>25</sup> This is not at all surprising, since the vine, the grape, above all, its product, wine, is the most common identifier of Bacchus/Dionysus.<sup>26</sup> In the first 'tratado' of the novella (where, unlike the second, no context exists for attributing to it a sacramental symbolism<sup>27</sup>), there exists no compelling explanation in the plot for the boy protagonist's yearning for wine. The central place nevertheless occupied by that element may very well suggest a Dionysian function: reinforcing the boy's Bacchian initiation/identification.

In fact, Lazarillo's expressed relation to wine is one of adoring worship: "estaba recibiendo aquellos dulces tragos, mi cara puesta hacia el cielo, un poco cerrados los ojos por mejor gustar el sabroso licuor" (32). And when he immediately thereafter receives the blow from the wine jug it seems to him that his Heaven, and his god, have fallen ("verdaderamente me pareció que el cielo, con todo lo que en él hay, me había caído encima").

One other factor appears to suggest this Bacchian function of the wine. While cleverly stealing the precious liquid from the jug, Lazarillo is physically accommodated between his blind master's legs: "entrábame entre las piernas del triste ciego a calentarme" (31). This unnatural and difficult position has puzzled scholars;<sup>28</sup> but, as indicated in note 15, the young Bacchus' 'second parenting', by Jupiter, takes place in the hollow of the latter's thigh.

Wine, as initially indicated, plays — as one might expect of the element most identified with Bacchus — a continuing role in the novella. After the jug incident referred to above, Lazarillo's wounds are treated with wine, and finally, after being cured again with wine following the sausage episode, the blind master tells him that wine has often given him

<sup>25</sup> J. Herrero, 'The Ending of Lazarillo: The Wine against the Water', *Modern Language Notes*, 93 (1978), 313.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup> Herrero, 'The Ending', p. 313, presents the bibliography supporting the wine's sacramental representation in the first two 'tratados'.

<sup>28</sup> Herrero, 'The Great Icons', p. 10. M. Bataillon, *Novedad y Fecundidad del Lazarillo de Tormes*. Trad. de L. Cortés Vázquez, New York, 1968, p. 61-62: "Y bien vemos cuán poco importa el que Lázaro, acurrucado entre las piernas del ciego, mamando el vino por el secreto agujero del jarro, al calor del macilento fuego, sea una estampa anatómicamente discutible..."

new life and deserves more honor and respect than his father: "A lo menos, Lázaro, eres en más cargo al vino que a tu padre, porque él una vez te engendró, mas el vino mil te ha dado la vida" (43). This establishing of a new guiding figure, a symbolic new father, is stressed a few lines later by the narrator himself. The blind master, prophet-like, Tiresias-like,<sup>29</sup> and recalling the men in Bacchanalian orgies described by Livy,<sup>30</sup> states: "Yo te digo — dijo — que si un hombre en el mundo ha de ser bienaventurado con vino, que serás tú" (43).

What is prophesized regarding Lazarillo and wine comes to pass at the novella's end, when the mature protagonist finds his social niche and his 'fortune' as town crier, 'pregonero' of the debauched archpriest's wines. Maldonado when speaking, in the *Bacchanalia*, of the public proclamation of the Bacchic orgiastic rites, uses the related Latin word *praeconium*, 'praise' or 'proclamation': "Ecce autem hoc ipso geniali die, cum mei ganeones et ardeliones post ientacula et ingurgitationes solennes ducerent choreas, deque laudibus ebrietatis et ganeae carmina cantarent meque propitium sibi numen complecterentur, et summis praeconiis celebrarent..." (37v); 'But just behold. On this very festive day, when my debauchees and zealous followers, after breakfasting and guzzling, were performing their festive dances and singing songs in praise of drunkenness and feasting, embracing me as their presiding divinity and celebrating me with the highest praises...'.<sup>31</sup>

In view of the fact that wine is a particularly Bacchic symbol, that it may well represent a Bacchic function in its previous appearances in the novella, and that Maldonado has, in his *Bacchanalia*, identified the self-indulgent Bacchic manner as underlying all human sinfulness, social and private, the corrupt protagonist-narrator's private life (cynically unprotesting cuckold) and his social function (wine-crier, proclaimer of Bacchus/Dionysus) come perfectly together at the end.

The remaining icon, the sausage (together with the vomiting associated with it in the novella), appear prominently in Maldonado's *Bacchanalia* associated with Filth, the Bacchus-like Christian vice. Shame relates of Filth's father that: "videns in parte mensae diversa botellum pinguiculum, involat et correptum uno haustu devorare festinat. Sed partem postremam, quae crassior erat, non valens transmittere, spiritu compresso prosternitur sub mensam resupinus, parte botelli propendente,

<sup>29</sup> For the presence of Tiresias in the Dionysus/Bacchus legend, see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, pp. 91-97.

<sup>30</sup> Livius, 39, 13, 10-14.

ore diducto, insternitur. Concurrunt omnes ad sublevandum et, cum botellum ore videre pendentem ipsumque mortuum credidere, alii miserebantur, alii dolebant inopinatum casum; plerique ridebant et cachinnis excipiebant adventantes. Ille autem revixit tandem atque uno vehementi screatu botellum et quod erat in stomacho congestum expulit, circumstantemque turbam vino iureque indigesto respersit" (53r-53v); 'seeing in a different part of the table a fat sausage, he rushed in, grabbed it, and hastened to devour it in one bite. But not being able to swallow the last part of it, because it was very thick, his breath was cut off and he was laid low. Because he lay flat under the table — with part of the sausage sticking out, with his mouth wide open — he was covered up. Everyone ran forward to carry him out; and when they saw the sausage hanging out of his mouth and believed he was dead, some showed pity, others grieved at the sudden disaster, most people laughed and greeted him with guffaws as they came forward. He, however, finally came back to life, and, after loudly hawking and spitting, he expelled the sausage and what had congealed in his stomach and showered those who were standing around with wine and undigested soup.'

In the *Lazarillo*, there is the same emphasis on undigested food ("la negra longaniza aún no había hecho asiento en el estómago... la negra mal maxcada longaniza," 40), and the simultaneous expulsion of the stomach contents and of something stuck in the throat ("De manera que, antes que el mal ciego sacase de mi boca su trompa, tal alteración sintió mi estómago, que le dio con el hurto en ella, de suerte que su nariz y la negra mal maxcada longaniza a un tiempo salieron de mi boca," 40). In both, a crowd of people rushes over to help but ends by laughing hilariously and attracting newcomers "si al ruido no acudieron... Era la risa de todos tan grande, que toda la gente que por la calle pasaba entraba a ver la fiesta," (41).

In both works the blame for having swallowed the sausage is attributed to gluttony: "Sacáronme de entre sus manos, dejándoselas llenas de aquellos pocos cabellos que tenía, arañada la cara y rasguñado el pescuezo y la garganta. Y esto bien lo merecía, pues por su maldad me venían tantas persecuciones" (41). Still, as Herrero has noted,<sup>31</sup> the phallic shape of the sausage lends itself to the suggestion of a symbolic sexual allusion. If such were the case, it, too, may readily be seen, both in the *Bacchanalia* and the *Lazarillo*, as the reinforcement of a Bacchic/Dionysian presence.

<sup>31</sup> Herrero, 'The Great Icons', pp. 13-15. His symbolic interpretation is basically Freudian, with the turnip (undeveloped phallus) serving as counterpoint.



The Bacchic cult derived from the Phrygian adoration of the Great Mother and the vine, and was centered on a belief that women had formerly torn apart the boy-god's body and eaten it.<sup>32</sup> In a later stage, they were thought to have cut off his genitals and eaten them. Historical cultists ate ritually prepared meat in religious celebrations. From this would likely come the association found in Maldonado of eating meat, specifically phallus-shaped sausages. The connection of Bacchus to the phallus was an idea available to Maldonado in Plutarch: "As Plutarch said, it was just because Dionysus was lord of the moist and the procreative that the pine belonged to him...".<sup>33</sup> St. Augustine in the *City of God* records a related practice: "The learned Varro was very well informed when he declared that the sovereignty of Dionysus was not only to be recognized in the juice of fruits whose crowning glory was wine, but also in the sperm of living creatures. From this sphere of the god's activity he traced the origin of the custom in which a phallus was crowned with wreaths and carried around in the god's cult."<sup>34</sup>

Maldonado's *Bacchanalia* offers other interesting parallels, as well, to the *Lazarillo*. In her defense, for example, Gluttony's attitude throughout may be best indicated by the following statement: "O mores hominum improbissimos, o rerum vertigines formidandas, o temporum vicissitudines admirandas et mihi plane timendas! Regnavi semper in orbe toto, reiectis non semel et in caelum redire coactis virtutibus; aut si repetebant quandoque terras, meum numen verebantur et abesse longe curabant" (39r-39v); 'Oh, the depraved character of people! Oh, the frightening changes of things! Oh, the remarkable changes in seasons, which are certainly feared by me. I have always been queen throughout the whole world. The virtues have been rejected more than once and forced to return to heaven, or, if they eventually did come back to earth, they revered my divine power and took care to stay far away.' The self-serving quality of her lengthy indictment is like that used by the narrator of the *Lazarillo* in his self-justifying autobiography, seemingly designed for the work's narratee and replete with authorial irony.<sup>35</sup> As the example cited suggests, there is a parallel authorial irony in having a character named Gluttony bewail human immorality, self-righteously denouncing the loss of her ancient rights to a 'criminal' busybody named

<sup>32</sup> Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, p. xvii.

<sup>33</sup> Cited by Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 158.

<sup>34</sup> Cited by Otto, *Dionysus*, p. 164 from Augustine, *City of God*, 7, 21.

Contenance. Shame's testimony repeatedly points out the deceptive, misleading character of nearly everything both Filth and Gluttony have said.

Maldonado, as noted earlier, identifies all self-indulgent sinfulness with Bacchic Gluttony, and he fixes — as part of the latter's indictment speech — upon Charles V's Spain as an example, characterizing it as a corrupt society: "De Carolo moderatius loquemur et cautius, quod agimus in suo regno... Sed interim plures mihi serviunt etiam in suo regno, quam illi" (44r); 'Concerning Charles we shall speak more moderately and cautiously, as we are in his kingdom... But in the meantime, more people serve me, even in his kingdom, than do him.' This general condemnation of his own society echoes, in summary at least, the *Lazarillo's* condemnation of the hypocritical selfishness of all the ranks of Spanish society.

Finally, commenting on the testimony offered by Filth, Bacchus' most important follower, Shame explains his illogical answers to Time's questions by indicating his poor understanding of Latin: when he was a child, his frustrated Latin teacher burned the study vocabulary on the boy's butt with a branding iron, leading him to flee and drop out of classes permanently (54v). A sadistic master who exacerbates his pupil's natural character defects, marking him for life and causing him to run away, pretty well summarizes the entire first 'tratado' of the *Lazarillo*.

In conclusion, we believe that Juan Maldonado's *Bacchanalia*, which we view as a Christian and lighthearted reworking of Livy's narration of the Bacchanalian Conspiracy, incorporates a number of significant elements — derived, for the most part, from the classical boy-god's cult and myth — that found their way into the *Lazarillo*, especially into the initial 'tratado' of the novella.

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<sup>35</sup> For the narrator's ironic perspective, see, for example, B. Wardropper, 'The Strange Case of Lázaro González Pérez', *Modern Language Notes*, 92 (1977), 202; F. Rico, *Problemas del Lazarillo* (Madrid, 1988), p. 13; and A. Rodríguez and E. Aleixandre, 'Sobre la intensidad irónica del comienzo del *Lazarillo*', *Quaderni Ibero-Americani*, 75 (1994), 65-69.

## BACCHANALIA.\*

Ioannis Maldonati Geniale Iudicium sive Bacchanalia.

Interlocutores:

Accensus Minister, Ingluvies et Continentia invicem se accusantes,  
Tempus iudex, Paedor et Pudor testes.

### 1 *Accensus*

Pro caeleste numen! Mulierculis tantam inesse vecordiam et audaciam, ut civitatem audeant perturbare atque cives in furorem et arma civilia protrudere? Vix mihi spiritus prae stupore suggerit verba, vix  
5 anhelitum traho. Murmur tamen ex meo perturbato vultu gestuque commotum resideat paululum, et ego quid nuntiatum veniam, explicabo. Conticuistis vos? Ego promissum absolvo. Accensus ego sum, praemis-  
sus a magis-[36v]tratibus, ad vos, candidi spectatores, admonendos, ne novitate rei, quam estis audituri, commoveamini. Ingens seditio coorta  
10 nunc est in foro cunctisque furentibus prae studio iuvandi partes, vix a magistratibus compressa est. Duae mulierculae cinctae validis copiis ardentibus studiis se mutuo impetebant. Quas quidem si videretis pugnantes, alteram putaretis saevissimam tigridem, alteram mansuetam iuvenecam. Plures tamen prosternebat huius mansuetudo, quam illius feritas.  
15 Quid mussitatis admirabundi? Ingluvies et Continentia proelio contendebant, et quamvis copiis primo et audacia praevalebat Ingluvies, consilio et scientia militandi longe Continentia superabat. Atrox quidem erat pugna, neque finienda videbatur nisi cum interitione partis alterius. Fulgebant arma, micabant tonabantque bombardae, tela saxa ligna volabant;  
20 ardebant animi, clamores ingeminabantur; gemebant saucii, cadebant multi. Sed tandem Ingluvies victa fugit opemque magistratuum imploravit maxime querula quod a possessione fori sacrorumque Bacchanalium vi et armis fuisset depulsa. Illi non existimantes opportunum

\* Note on orthography. Small corrections of individual words in the MS have been entered without comment in order to standardize the spelling, e.g. *proelio* for *plaelio*, *tela* for *tella*, *paene* for *pene*, *cena* for *coena*, *vindicat* for *vendicat*, *deliciis* for *delitiis*, *nuntiatum* for *nunciatum*, *immo* for *imo*, *litteras* for *literas*, *caritas* for *charitas*. Punctuation has also been standardized.

## BACCHANALIA.

The Delightful Judgment or Bacchanalia of Juan Maldonado

Speakers:

The minister Accensus [a name which might mean either “on fire” or “an attendant”]; Gluttony and Continence accusing one another; Time, a judge; Filth and Shame, witnesses.

### *Accensus*

By the heavenly powers! That mere women should acquire so much folly and boldness that they dare to throw the state into turmoil, drive the citizens to madness, and bring forth civil strife! I am so astonished that I can scarcely find the breath to form words, I can hardly gasp. Still, let the muttering (which has been stirred up by my extremely agitated face and gestures) settle down a little and I will explain what I came to announce.

Have you become silent? I fulfill what I promised. I am Accensus, sent ahead [36v] by the magistrates to warn you, delightful spectators, not to be disturbed by the strangeness of the matter that you are about to hear. A massive rebellion has taken place in the marketplace. Everyone is in an uproar out of eagerness to help his own side, and it has only with difficulty been suppressed by the magistrates. Two little women, surrounded by strong forces, have attacked one another with eager enthusiasm. Why, if you should see them fighting, you would suppose that one was a very savage tigress and the other a tame heifer. Yet more were amazed by the gentleness of the one than by the savagery of the other. Why are you muttering in amazement? Gluttony and Continence were contending in battle; and, although Gluttony had the advantage at first, both in forces and in boldness, Continence was far overcoming her by good planning and knowledge of military tactics. It certainly was a fierce fight, and it did not look like it would end except by the utter destruction of one side or the other. Weapons flashed; cannons glittered and boomed; spears, rocks and wooden staffs were flying; passions grew hot, shouts were repeated; the wounded were groaning, and many were falling.

But finally Gluttony was defeated and fled; and she begged for help from the magistrates, complaining especially because she had been deprived of the marketplace and the sacred rites of Bacchus<sup>1</sup> by force of arms. They did not think it

<sup>1</sup> This mention of the ‘rites of Bacchus’ is the first indication of Maldonado’s fusion of the Christian vices and the Bacchic. See the introductory essay.

tali die et lo-[37 r]-co efferatam Ingluviam plus irritare, iudicem dede-  
 25 runt hunc senem, qui testibus adhibitis eas foro depulit et in hoc emi-  
 nentissimum theatrum iudicandas, cum egerit utraque causam suam,  
 compulit; audiantur ipsae. De iudice non est cur dubitent: bonus aequus  
 inexorabilis est. Caelum citius exorabitur, ut teneat cursum suum, quam  
 ut hic a vero discedat. Eia tu conscende suggestum, Ingluvies: tibi  
 30 priores partes forte obvenerunt. Si victa fueris dabis poenas, ut aequum  
 est; sin secus, tripudiis et choreis tuos amicos et populares laetius et  
 liberius exhilarabis. Evome tandem querellas tuas.

*Ingluviei oratio*

Quis crederet? Quis futurum umquam putaret ut Continentia mecum  
 35 his praesertim Bacchanalibus pertinaciter auderet contendere collatisque  
 signis et aperto Marte pugnare? Ingluvies ego sum, Ingluvies inquam,  
 illa principalium domorum et fori plane regina. Cuius ab imperio vix se  
 montium recessus et invia silvarum, nedum urbium loca celebria vindi-  
 cant magistratus quasi du-[37v]-bii de meo iure, remittunt me ad iudi-  
 40 cem quidem acerrimum. Non queror ad te, iudex, remitti, quem scio  
 numquam a veritate deviaturum; sed quod illi de re manifesta dubitave-  
 rint, demiror. Maiora sunt et graviora, quae solent a iudice tanto decerni;  
 praesertim cum nulli non compertum sit his feriis voracitati dicatis mihi  
 non obtemperare meaque non iura servare, crimen esse piaculo luendum.  
 45 Sed quia tua gravitas, annose iudex, quid mihi novum et lamentabile  
 nunc acciderit, respiciens ad maiora, forte non attendit, percurram brevi-  
 ter meas aerumnas et angores attingam. Dies carnivoros tres, quibus  
 nunc feriamur, ab annis plus mille fuisse mihi sacros, quis quamvis au-

was opportune on such a day and in such [37r] a place to stir up Gluttony any more, wild as she was, and as judge they produced this old man. He summoned witnesses, drove the women out of the marketplace, and forced them into this very high theater, to be judged after each has personally pleaded her own case.<sup>2</sup> Let the women speak for themselves. There is no reason why they should have doubts about the judge. He is a good and fair man, who cannot be moved by entreaty. Heaven will more quickly be persuaded to check its course than this man to turn aside from the truth.

Come now, you, Gluttony! Mount the platform. The first speech has fallen to you by lot. If you are bested, you will pay the penalty, as is just. But if there is a different result, with leaps and dances you will delight your friends and followers more joyfully and freely. Come on, spit out your complaints.

### *Speech of Gluttony*

Who would have believed it? Who would have thought that it would ever come about that Continnence would dare stubbornly to contend with me—especially during these ecstatic rites<sup>3</sup>— and to fight at close quarters in public battle? I am Gluttony. I tell you that I am Gluttony, the queen of seignorial homes and certainly of the forum. From my jurisdiction, scarcely can mountain retreats and thick forests, much less regions crowded with cities, free themselves; and now the magistrates, as though [37v] doubtful about my rights, send me to a judge who is certainly very harsh.

Not that I am complaining, judge, over being sent to you, for I know that you will never turn aside from the truth. But I am amazed that they had doubts about a matter which is obvious. The issues customarily decided by so great a judge are larger and more serious, especially since no one is unaware that during this holiday (set aside for the appetites) to fail to humor me, and to follow my rules, is a crime that can only be expiated by atonement. But, oh dignified and aged judge, because of your concern with greater issues, perhaps you are unaware of the strange and regrettable thing which has recently happened to me. I will briefly run through my troubles and express my anguish.

The three meat-eating days which we are now celebrating have been sacred to me for more than a thousand years.<sup>4</sup> Who is so stern and strict as to think that

<sup>2</sup> This trial format reflects, as indicated in the introductory essay, its Livian source. The pitched battle between Gluttony and Continnence, that has already taken place, but which is described during the trial proceedings, recalls the medieval tradition of battles between Carnival and Lent, such as that offered by Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*, in "De la pelea que ovo don Carnal con la Quaresma". Moreover Gluttony's self-defense often echoes Folly's praise of herself in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1511).

<sup>3</sup> This refers, albeit with Bacchian terminology, to the excesses traditionally tolerated during the Christian carnival.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the three days of carnival preceding Ash Wednesday and the beginning of Lent. The reference to 'meat-eating' serves as a contrast to the abstinence from meat associated with Lent. The insistence on 'meat-eating' may also allude, in the

sterus et gravis negandum existimabit? Quis umquam meis voluptatibus  
50 hodiernis induxit animum obstrepere aut leviter obturbare? Ecce autem  
hoc ipso geniali die, cum mei ganeones et ardeliones post ientacula et  
ingurgitationes solennes ducerent choreas deque laudibus ebrietatis et  
ganeae carmina cantitarent, meque propitium sibi numen complecteren-  
tur et summis praeconiis celebrarent, irruiet Continentia cum sua familia  
55 non admodum numero-[38r]-sa, sed vehementi, austera, pugnaci meque  
meosque probris incessit, agitat et contrudit. Arma latebant; vulnera  
tamen infligebantur, quae quo minus apparebat spiculum, tanto magis  
cruciabant. Ego non ferens meam familiam partim dispergi exulceratam,  
partim in deditionem redigi, pedem infero pugnamque capesso. Redinte-  
60 gratur proelium caduntque ubique multi. Ego vero ducem ipsam invado  
et cum impenetrabilis ferro videretur, in capillos involo; certe decalvas-  
sem, si nullae laterent insidiae. Nondum tamen digitis attigeram, cum  
subito perculsa procumbo, nullo apparente mucrone; moribundaque  
iacui, donec sum a meis sublata et vitae quasi reddita. Iamiam flagrabat  
65 vindictae rabies unguisque intendebar in hostem, cum iterum percutior  
nescio quo telo nec a quo, praesentemque mortem vitans, hosti cedere  
cogor et mea possessione deturbor. Cumque magistratus inclamassem,  
accurrunt illi quidem mediaeque se pugnae inferunt. Sedato tamen  
tumultu, quod illis erat de aliis rebus consultandum, ad tuam gravitatem,  
70 iudex, nos iudicandas reiecerunt, ut cognita causa punires, et absolveres  
tuo arbitratu. Itaque [38v] tria mihi potissimum in hac causa sunt agenda:  
de vi mihi meis feriis illata, quam sum ego solum conata repellere, de  
paratis insidiis, de restituenda mihi possessione saeculorum multorum,  
qua sum per vim fraudemque depulsa. Miseram me! Laesa sum pae-  
75 neque confecta, et eo die, quo ius omne mihi multis ab annis omnisque  
libertas permissa est; et in dubium revocatur, cui sit hodie vis illata et a  
qua sit Genii laesa maiestas. Festum ego diem agebam in meo regno,  
inter meos populares. Ista velut in messem alienam irruiet, praeripere  
conata meos honores, meam gloriam, mea gaudia plane solemnia. Repu-  
80 gnavi, sed vim repellens, non inferens; quis de meo iure dubitabit? Quis  
me non graviter laesam et ignominia turpi quidem notatam negabit?

this can be denied? Who ever took a notion to cry out against or, lightly, to throw into confusion my pleasures of today? But just behold. On this very happy day, when my debauchees and zealous followers, after breakfasting and guzzling, were performing their festive dances and singing songs in praise of drunkenness and feasting,<sup>5</sup> embracing me as their presiding divinity and celebrating me with the highest proclamations, Continenca rushed in with her family, who are not very [38r] numerous, but ardent and stern. She attacked me and my people, very belligerently, with insults. She harassed me and pressed hard against me. Weapons were concealed; yet wounds were inflicted that tortured us all the more because the pointed weapons could not be seen.

I did not endure my family being partly split up and wounded, partly forced to surrender. I advanced and entered the fight. The battle was renewed; many fell on all sides. Then I attacked the general herself. Since she appeared impenetrable by sword, I went for her hair. I certainly would have plucked her bald if no treachery had been lurking. But I had not yet touched her with my fingers when, being suddenly struck, I fell forward, although no blade was to be seen. I lay like a dead woman until I was picked up by my friends and, so to speak, restored to life. Now the urge for revenge was taking possession of me and I was aiming my nails at the enemy. Then I was again struck. I know not by what weapon or by how many people. I avoided death for the moment, but was forced to yield to the enemy and was deprived of my possession. When I cried out for the magistrates, they indeed ran up and rushed into the middle of the fight. Yet, when the uproar had settled down, because they had to consult about other matters, they gave us up, judge, to be tried by your eminence, so that, once the case has been investigated, you may punish or acquit at your discretion.

And so [38v] three things must be treated by me especially in this case: that which concerns the violence which was done to me during my festival, which I only tried to prevent; that which concerns the ambush which was prepared; and that which concerns the restoration to me of my possession of many centuries, from which I have been driven by violence and deceit. Poor me! I have been wounded and almost killed, and that on the very day on which for many years all power and all freedom have been permitted me.<sup>6</sup> And it is called into doubt against whom violence has been brought this day, and which woman has committed an offense against the sovereignty of the person. I was spending a festal day in my own kingdom, among my fellow-countrymen. She rushed in, as though invading another's harvest crop, trying to snatch away my honors, my glory, my entirely traditional joys. I fought back; but I was driving away violence, not introducing it. Who can have doubts about my rights? Who will deny that I have been gravely wounded and, indeed, branded with shameful disgrace?

Bacchian association created by Maldonado for carnival, to the Bacchic practice of devouring animals. See Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Dancing and singing, but especially dancing, are inseparably identified with the maenadic devotees of Dionysus/Bacchus.

<sup>6</sup> The day referred to is probably 'Fat Tuesday,' the culmination of carnival time.



Si testibus opus est, produxi iam decem; et alium, quem designaveram et gravi morbo detentus absolvere non valuerat, in hunc coetum, si per te, iudex, licuerit, inducam, qui de gestis ante saeculum hoc non minus  
85 quam de hodierna seditione testificabitur ex fide. Iam testes reliquos audisti, iudex, et iniquitatem adversariae demiratus, meae calamitatis penitus deplorandae misertus es; quid cum anno-[39r]-sum audiveris? Quod autem sint mihi insidiae comparatae, tam fuit omnibus palam, ita fraus cunctis aperta, ut ea de re quisquam dubitare non possit. Corru  
90 repente prostrataque sum; at quae me cominus impetebat, nullo ferro videbatur armata. Innuebat illa oculis, vis aliunde manabat. Latebant certe percussores; iacula dissimulanter et clanculum contorquebantur. Sed testibus hoc comprobatum est; et qui restat adhuc interrogandus, quoniam propius aderat, plenus satisfaciet omnemque dubitationem  
95 amovebit. De sublata mihi possessione horum dierum et fori plenius agendum est, ut non solum restituatur (quod iure gentium negari non potest) sed quae per vim me depulit ab ea, gravissimas poenas det. Unde nunc exordiar? Quid potissimum querar? O mores hominum improbissimos! O rerum vertigines formidandas! O temporum vicissitudines admi  
100 randas et mihi plane timendas! Regnavi semper in orbe toto, reiectis non semel, et in caelum redire coactis virtutibus — aut si repetebant quandoque terras, meum numen verebantur, et abesse longe curabant. Nunc ab una Continentia iactor; diesque mihi meoque fraterculo Baccho sacros [39v] extorquet sibiue vindicat? Magistratus vero (heu dolor!)  
105 connivent ad mea damna meque censendam ad iudicem inexorabilem reiciunt, cum, si revocassent in memoriam gesta maiorum et priscorum

If there is need of witnesses, I have already produced ten; and, if you permit, judge, I will produce in this assembly another, whom I had earlier designated but who, being detained by a serious illness, was not able to appear. He will faithfully testify about events before this age as well as about today's uprising. You have already heard the other witnesses, judge. You have marveled at the wickedness of my adversary and you have shown pity toward my plight, which is thoroughly to be deplored. What [will you feel] after you have heard this [39r] old man?<sup>7</sup>

However, the fact that treachery was planned against me has become obvious to all; the deceit has been cleared up for everyone, so that no one can doubt about this matter. I suddenly collapsed and was knocked down; and she who attacked me at close quarters did not seem armed with any weapon. She signaled with her eyes; the force flowed from another direction. The bandits were surely hiding. Darts were hurled, deceitfully and secretly. But this has been proved by witnesses; and he who still remains to be questioned, since he was closer at hand, will give a fuller account and remove all doubt.

Now that the possession of these days, and of the forum, has been taken from me, I must testify more thoroughly, not only so that possession may be restored to me — which could not be denied according to the law of nations<sup>8</sup> — but also so that she, who separated me from it by violence, may pay the most severe penalty.

Now where shall I start? What shall I complain about most? Oh, the depraved character of people! Oh, the frightening dizziness of the universe! Oh, the remarkable changes of times, which I must thoroughly fear!<sup>9</sup> I have always been queen throughout the whole world. The virtues have been rejected more than once and forced to return to heaven,<sup>10</sup> or, if they eventually did come back to earth, they revered my divine power and took care to stay far away. Now I am tormented by Continence alone. She steals away from me days which are sacred to me and to my little brother [39v] Bacchus. She steals them and lays claim to them herself.

As for the magistrates — oh, the pain! —, they wink at my losses and abandon me to the judgment of an inexorable judge. Whereas, if they had called to

<sup>7</sup> The reference is to the last witness to be presented, referred to earlier in this same paragraph, who, in order to give testimony about the past, has to be, in effect, an old man.

<sup>8</sup> Maldonado appears to allude to the foundations of International Law fixed by Fray Francisco de Vitoria, who died in 1546. A professor of Theology at Salamanca, Vitoria had caused a great intellectual commotion in the decades before his death by questioning the legality of the Spanish conquests in the New World, a matter of interest to Maldonado (Colahan-Rodriguez, 'Juan Maldonado and *Lazarillo de Tormes*', pp. 296-298). See, for example, James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law: Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations* (Oxford, 1934), I, chap. 3.

<sup>9</sup> These phrases spoken by Gluttony show authorial irony. Laments for the human condition and over the instability of the world are usually associated with ascetic writings.

<sup>10</sup> A possible allusion to Astraea, goddess of Justice, who abandoned earth in disgust at the sins of mortals. See Ovid, *Met*, 1, 150 and Juvenal, 6, 19-20.

historias meminissent, deturbanda mox erat Continentia ab indebita possessione graviterque punienda, quod in fortunas invasisset alienas. Non queror, ut dixi, talem mihi iudicem datum; novi aequitatem et iuste iudicaturum non dubito; sed quod illi dubitaverint de meo iure, cum me  
 110 viderint prostratam et eiectam, graviter fero.

Possem hoc loci perfacile ad gloriam et famam meam extollendam atque praedicandam excurrere, si pertineret ad causam, et in proprias divertere laudes sine insolentiae sugillatione liceret. Nam de patria et  
 115 parentibus quis verius gloriaretur? Eva me produxit in paradiso, cum edendi libidine percita corripuit pomum. Noas bene de me meritus est vino victus et soporatus. Sed non sunt, dicetis vos, ad exemplum referenda, quae accidunt in vita semel et habent nescio quid latentis mysterii. Neque libet etiam aut expediat iactare, quantum boni proveniat  
 120 mortalibus ex meis studiis et institutis: res ipsa [40r] plane loquitur. Omnes discipuli et assectatores mei vigent animo, valent corpore: vegeti pinguiculi que sunt, rubent illis malae, scintillant oculi: laetantur, rident, carmina componunt, dicteria iactant, ingenium illis promptum est et viribus valent. Itaque praetermissis his, ad possessionem  
 125 confirmandam recurrat oratio.

Quis ignorat reges olim ac principes fuisse mihi semper obnoxios, et aetatibus paene cunctis non defuisse primates, qui non dissimulanter, sed aperta facie mihi servirent? Christiani fuerunt etiam pauci, nunc vero pauciores, et his Bacchanalibus paene nulli, qui mihi refragentur. Exemplis ero brevis, ne vos obtundam.  
 130

Sardanapalus Assyriae rex mihi meaeque ampliandae dignitati gloriaeque natus, quanto me studio coluerit, quam meis votis fuerit addictus, testes sunt eorum temporum annales. Omnibus tamen eius praeclaris facinoribus praetermissis, inscriptionem sepulchri, quod vivens ipse sibi  
 135 posuit, solum memorabo, quo cetera facilius divines:

“Sardanapalus Anaxindaxaris filius Anachialem et Tarsum una die condidi. Ede, bibe, lude: et quando te mortalem noris,

praesentibus exple

deliciis animum. [40v] Post mortem nulla voluptas.

140 Nanque ego sum pulvis, qui nuper tanta tenebam.

memory the deeds of our ancestors, and if they had recalled the histories of earlier men, Continenca would soon be deprived of the possession she does not deserve and severely punished for intruding into someone else's fortunes.

As I said, I do not complain that such a judge has been assigned to me. I know his fairness and do not doubt that his judgment will be just; but I take it very ill that they had doubts about my rights when they saw me laid low and cast out. I could at this point very easily resort to extolling and proclaiming my glory and fame, if it related to the case, and if it were permitted me to resort to my own praises without the stigma of insolence.

For who more truly could boast about her country and parents? Eve gave birth to me in Paradise when, seduced by her lust for eating, she plucked the apple. Noah did well by me when he was overcome and put to sleep by wine. But (you will say) things that happen once in life and contain some kind of lurking mystery<sup>11</sup> ought not to be used as examples. But it does not please me, nor is it fitting, to boast about how much good comes forth for mortals from my pursuits and customs. The matter [40r] speaks plainly for itself. All my pupils and followers are vigorous in spirit and strong in body. They are healthy and fat; their cheeks are red; their eyes sparkle; they are cheerful, they laugh, they compose songs, they toss off witty sayings; their wit is at the ready; they are full of strength.

But let us pass over them, and let my speech return to the establishment of my possession. Who is unaware that at one time kings and princes were always subject to me, and that nobles of all ages were not lacking to serve me, and in no hidden manner, but quite openly? Moreover, there were few Christians — and now there are even fewer, and during this Bacchanalian festival virtually none — who opposed me. I will be brief with my examples, so as not to tire you out.

Sardanapalus, king of Assyria,<sup>12</sup> was a man born to magnify me and my dignity and glory. The annals of those times are witness to the zeal with which he worshipped me, and to how he was consecrated to my vows. Nevertheless, passing over all of his very famous deeds, I will only speak of the inscription on the tomb that he built for himself while he was still alive. From this you will more easily guess everything else:

I, Sardanapalus, son of Anaxindaxar, founded  
Anachialis and Tarsus in a single day. Eat,  
drink, play; and since you know you are mortal,  
fill up your soul with the delights of the present.  
[40v] there is no pleasure after death. for I am

<sup>11</sup> The finding of 'lurking mysteries' in interpreting Scripture is common to medieval and renaissance biblical exegesis. For a single example see Erasmus' paraphrase of *Romans* 11, 33 in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 42: *Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, ed. J. Payne, W. Smith et al. (Toronto, 1984), pp. 68-69.

<sup>12</sup> Legendary king of Assyria (822 B. C.), emblem of sinful weakness. Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1, 5, 3 says the mass of mankind, who prefer the slavish life of cattle, can use the example of Sardanapalus in support of their view.

Haec habeo quae edi, quaeque exsaturata libido  
hausit: at illa manent multa et praeclara relictæ.”

- Qualis ego tum eram illo regnante, quam ab omnibus culta venerata  
dilecta? Sed nescio quid vos obmurmuratis: favete linguis. Alexandro  
145 Magno quis audeat derogare? Ille quidem Magnus Alexander, qui totum  
orbem subegit, nunquid mihi non aliquando servivit? Qui mero quan-  
doque madens irruerat in amicos virtutem praedicantes meisque repu-  
gnantes studiis: quem quidem, si pervenisset ad senectutem, persuase-  
ram plane mihi meis in amplexibus bellorum curas et labores,  
150 negotiorumque molestias levaturum mihiq[ue] templa dicaturum. Quid  
commemorem classicos multos philosophos et in his Epicurum, qui  
parum quidem abfuit, quin mortales omnes in eam opinionem adduceret,  
ut praeter unam voluptatem, cuius ego sum filia, nihil esset in vita homi-  
num expetendum? Quandoquidem affirmabat solam voluptatem homi-  
155 nem efficere beatum atque felicem. Sed insurrexerunt postea diversis  
aetatibus argutuli quidam, qui eius sententiam improbarent et tan-[41r]-  
dem efficerent, ne [non] ab omnibus reciperetur. Reiicitur tamen verbis  
magis quam re: quoniam ut vere dicam, plures habet assertores Epicurus  
meus quam argutiores Stoici, quamvis concionatores nunc clamitent et  
160 reges minentur quaestiones. Sed omittamus philosophos, quorum ego  
concertationes, etiam cum virtutem praedicant, nihil facio. Scio quid  
vere sentiant, quid secum remotis arbitris probent et exsequantur.

dust who recently possessed so much. I have what I  
ate; my lust has drained as much as it could hold;  
but those many outstanding possessions of mine have  
been left behind and remain.<sup>13</sup>

Oh, how I lived when he was king! How I was worshipped, revered, loved! But you are all grumbling about something. Mind your tongues!<sup>14</sup> Who would dare to disparage Alexander the Great? But that very Alexander the Great who subdued the whole world, do you suppose that he didn't serve me now and again? Why from time to time, when he was unsteady with wine, he would attack his friends for preaching virtue and for opposing my pursuits.<sup>15</sup> Certainly if he had lived to old age, I would have persuaded him to lie in my embraces and ease the cares and labors of war and the annoyances of his troubles, and to dedicate temples to me.

Why dwell on the many classical philosophers, and among them Epicurus? He came close to attracting all mortals to the opinion that beside pleasure alone (whose daughter I am) there was nothing in human life which should be sought after. For, indeed, he kept affirming that pleasure alone made human life happy and blessed. But afterwards, certain clever speakers, of different epochs, rushed in to show their disapproval of his opinion, and finally [41r] they brought it about that he was not accepted by all.<sup>16</sup>

Yet he is rejected more in words than in deeds, since, to speak the truth, my friend Epicurus has more defenders than the Stoics have clever speakers,<sup>17</sup> although demagogues are now starting to shout and kings are threatening inquiries. But let us pass over the philosophers. I have no use for their battles of words, even when they are preaching virtue. I know what they really think, what they approve and pursue when all witnesses are absent.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Maldonado may have found the last two lines of the inscription on Sardanapalus's tomb in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 5, 35, 101; or Athenaeus, *The Philosophers at Dinner*, 8, 335-336. Part of Maldonado's version scans as dactylic hexameters. There are textual variations. Cicero reads *iacent*, "lie in ruins" where Maldonado reads *manent*, "remain." Both Latin authors read *relicta*, "left" where Athenaeus reads *λέλυνται*, "dissolved."

<sup>14</sup> Maldonado clearly indicates the public's negative reaction to Gluttony's defense of Sardanapalus.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander, in a drunken rage, murdered his friend Clitus, who was himself tipsy with wine. The anecdote was probably known by Maldonado through Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (50, 1-51, 11) or the biography by Quintius Curtius Rufus (*History of Alexander*, 8, 1, 22-52).

<sup>16</sup> The slanders against Epicurus by rival philosophers began in his own lifetime; see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 10, 3-8. It was a common misconception about Epicurus to consider him a voluptuary. See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, e.g., 2, 7, 18; 3, 17, 37.

<sup>17</sup> The Stoics put a great emphasis on dialectic; cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, 7, 55-83. Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations* 2, 28-29 complains that Stoics construct foolish syllogisms to prove their points.

<sup>18</sup> This attack on philosophers parallels Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, pp. 125-126 in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. A. H. T. Levi, vol. 27, (Toronto, 1986). For Maldonado's

Omnibus aetatibus usque ad Augustum Caesarem nullum habui hostem quem non facile vincerem cunctando. Nam etsi annos aliquot prae-  
 165 valebant nonnulli, paulatim vel eorum morte, vel aliquo stratagemate meorum victrix ego regiones et oppida, si quae desciverant, recuperabam.

Verum Augusto regnante ingens et horrida mihi calamitas repente suborta est. Christus Iesus Dei filius (quid manifesta negemus?) in Iudaea  
 170 natus ex virgine quidem est. Et sane antequam a diabolo meo patrono tentaretur in deserto, non eram omnino certa hostem mihi futurum, sed sapienti gravique illo responso perculsa, statim fugere decrevi. Sum in Asia nata; et, quamvis soleo percurrere cunctas nationes, frequentius ibi agere [41v] consuevi; tum vero praesagiens, quid sibi vellet Deum fieri  
 175 hominem, abnegata patria, Romam contendi, ubi vitia libidinesque omnes rerum fastigia tenebant. Nam Catilina, vitiorum omnium receptaculum, paulo fuerat mihi ante subtractus. M. Antonius qui cum Augusto primo partitus imperium, si Cleopatra non in Actiaca pugna impedimento fuisset, solum imperium tenuisset, ad mortem compulsus. Bone Deus, qui vir  
 180 mihi perit Antonius, qui ventri deditus et Veneri, divitias ingentes vectigaliaque passim et undique continentia in dapibus exquisiti saporis perquirendis, devehendis, et concinnandis insumebat, profundebat, dilapidabat!

Lucullus, deliciae quidem decusque meum dulce, non ante multo  
 185 obierat; qui divitias quas habebat maximas et gazam immensam, quam ex Asia victoque Mithridate revexerat, in extruendis domibus villis hortisque, cum cenationibus amoenissimis, et in cenis opiparis conviviisque magnificis, et epulis vix credendis insumebat ac disperdebat. Ex una tamen cena raptim duobus amicis parata, reliquos eius incredibiles

In every age up to that of Caesar Augustus I had no enemy whom I did not easily conquer by delay. For even if some of them dominated for a considerable number of years, gradually, either by their death or by some stratagem of my people, I prevailed and recovered whatever regions and towns had been unfaithful to me.

But when Augustus was ruling, a huge and horrible calamity suddenly rose up against me. Christ Jesus, the son of God (why should we deny what is manifest?) was indeed born in Judea of a virgin. And to be sure, before he was tempted in the wilderness by the devil, my patron, I was not completely sure that he would be an enemy to me; but stunned by that wise and serious answer of his, I at once decided to escape. I was born in Asia, and, although I am accustomed to traveling though all the nations, I used to spend [41v] time there more frequently. But then, foreseeing what it meant that God became man, I rejected my country and headed for Rome, where all the vices and lusts of the world had reached a pinnacle.<sup>19</sup> For Catiline, that container of all vices,<sup>20</sup> had a little time earlier been taken away from me. Mark Antony (who at first shared power with Augustus), who, if Cleopatra had not been a hindrance in the battle of Actium,<sup>21</sup> would have held power alone, was driven to his death.

Good God, what a man I lost in Antony! He was dedicated to his belly and to sex.<sup>22</sup> He spent, he poured out, he squandered huge fortunes and tributes — which were continually heaped on him from all sides — in seeking out, bringing together, and neatly arranging banquets of exquisite taste.

Lucullus, who was certainly my delight and my sweet glory, had died not long before. He spent and squandered the great riches which he had and the immense treasure that he had brought back from Asia after his victory over Mithridates,<sup>23</sup> in the construction of homes, villas and gardens, along with very pleasant dining-halls, rich dinners, magnificent parties, and banquets which can scarcely be believed. Yet you will be able to judge the rest of his incredible expenditures from a single meal prepared at the last minute for two friends.

Erasmian roots, see M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* (Mexico, 1966), and C. Colahan and A. Rodriguez, 'Juan Maldonado and *Lazarillo de Tormes*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 72 (1995), 289-311.

<sup>19</sup> Maldonado here echoes Juvenal's lament about the vices of his age in *Satires*, 1, 149.

<sup>20</sup> There is a similarly hyperbolic description of the conspirator Catiline in Sallust, *Catiline*, 14, 1-4.

<sup>21</sup> In fact Antony himself was ineffective at the Battle of Actium, and fled even though his land army was still intact, according to Plutarch, *Life of Mark Antony*, 66, 1-68, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Maldonado follows Cicero's depiction of Antony as debauched, e.g. *Phillipics*, 2, 25, 63.

<sup>23</sup> Lucullus, consul in 74 B.C., defeated Mithridates VI in the Third Mithridatic War and, after acquiring great wealth in Asia, devoted himself to his luxurious tastes; Plutarch describes some of his extravagances in *Life of Lucullus*, 39.



190 sumptus existimare licebit. Quodam [42r] die cum iam eum taederet rei-  
publicae grandem natu, Cicero et Pompeius sedentem in foro otiosum  
viderunt, salutatoque dixerunt cenaturos eo die apud eum, modo nihil ad  
solitam cenam adderet. Ille cum neque impetraret ut in posterum diem  
cena reiiceretur nec ut famulis in aurem aliquid imperaret, solum obti-  
195 nuit ut uni ex servis diceret, apud Apollinem (cenationis erat nomen) se  
velle cenare. Famuli quid vellet gnari, cenam continuo apparaverunt  
impendio mille ducentorum et quinquaginta aureorum, quod plane Cice-  
ronem et Pompeium stupefecit.

Fuerant etiam iam extincti multi non minus de meis studiis laudandi,  
200 quam de bellicis et civilibus. Sed iniquis spatiis interclusae non dabitur  
praescriptum tempus praeterire: proptereaue de tribus aut quattuor  
imperatoribus Romanis si pauca prius dixerō, pergā ad reliqua.

Tiberius Caesar tenebat imperium cum Romam tum temporis ego  
veni. Pro caelestia numina! qui vir erat ille, quam pius in me, quam  
205 amans voluptatum, quam deliciis omnibus delibutus, quam edax, quam  
bibax, quam vorax, quam virtutis inimicus et per-[42v]-tinacissimus  
hostis! Quis teneat risum tali memoria? Biberium pro Tiberio appellabant  
multi per iocum nec immerito quidem. Genitus videbatur ad vina per-  
denda libidinesque portentosas comminiscendas et exercendas. Quis  
210 mecum tunc auderet contendere? Continentia scilicet, quae quidem cum  
suo grege in lucem non ausa prodire, fugiebat conspectum hominum et  
in cavernis totos dies et noctes latitabat. Nullus apud principem plus eo  
tempore valebat, quam qui novas excogitare voluptates calleret et in  
exercendis esset ingeniosus.

215 Hunc imperatorem secutus est Caligula libidinibus omnibus coopertus  
ac contaminatus; qui si non brevi fuisset e medio sublatus, mihi rerum  
habenas permisisset, quoniam erat in gulam (ut cetera sileam) ita pronus  
et affectus perditē, ut mecum vivere maxime cuperet, mecum congrēdi,  
mecum perpetuo commorari.

220 De Claudio si minus dixerō, iniuriam illi fecerō, quandoquidem libi-  
dines Caligulae sic studuit superare, ut qui persuaderet sibi solum id esse

On a certain [42r] day, when he was already growing weary of the Republic, and was getting on in years, Cicero and Pompey saw him sitting in the forum at his leisure. After greeting him they said that they would have dinner at his house that day provided that he added nothing to his customary meal. They refused his requests that the meal be postponed until the next day and that he be allowed to whisper some command in the ear of his household slaves. He only obtained their permission to say to one of his slaves that he wanted to dine at Apollo, the name of a dining-hall. His household slaves knew what he wanted. At once they prepared a meal at the cost of 1, 250 gold coins. This completely astonished Cicero and Pompey.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, there were many other men, already dead, who were praiseworthy as much for following my pursuits as for their civil and military exploits. But it will not be granted me, impeded by unequal intervals of time,<sup>25</sup> to go over the designated period. Consequently, I will say a few things first about three or four Roman emperors, then proceed to the remaining things.

Tiberius Caesar held power at the very time that I came to Rome. By the heavenly powers, what a man he was! As dutiful to me as he was a lover of pleasures, soaked in every kind of refinement, a glutton, a drunkard, an open maw, he was likewise hostile to virtue, [42v] and its most deadly enemy. Who could fail to laugh at such a memory? Many, as a joke, used to call him Biberius, drunkard, instead of Tiberius, and with good reason. He seemed to have been born for the consumption of wine and for the mingling together and practice of unnatural lusts.<sup>26</sup>

Who dared compete with me then? Continence did. Yet she and her herd did not dare come forth into the light. With them she used to flee from the sight of men and hide for entire days and nights in caves.<sup>27</sup> No one prevailed with the emperor more at that time than anyone who knew how to think up new pleasures and was ingenious in their performance.

This emperor was followed by Caligula, a man sunk in every kind of lust and contaminated by it. If he had not been removed from among us in a short time, he would have handed over to me the reins of the world. For (not to mention everything else) he was so prone and perversely inclined toward gluttony, that he wanted most of all to live with me, and meet with me, and spend all his time with me.<sup>28</sup>

If I spend less time talking about Claudius, I will do him an injustice. For he was actually so eager to outdo the lusts of Caligula, that he even persuaded

<sup>24</sup> Narrated by Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Gluttony appears to complain of being granted less time than Continence.

<sup>26</sup> Gluttony's slanderous portrait of Tiberius comes from Suetonius, who tells the joke about 'Biberius' at *Tiberius*, 42, 1, and describes the emperor's sexual perversions in 43-44.

<sup>27</sup> Probable reference to the Christian catacombs.

<sup>28</sup> In listing the many vices of Gaius Caligula, Suetonius does not place any emphasis on his gluttony, but does record that he would drink pearls dissolved in vinegar and serve his guests loaves and meats of gold (*C. Caligula*, 37, 1).

regnare, ganeam priorum imperatorum aemulari et ab eorum eiusmodi studiis non discedere.

Iam Nero meus amasius, mea vera vo-[43r]-luptas, quibus verbis  
 225 digne praedicabitur a me? Qui tanto studio conatus est persequi suoque  
 regno exterminare Continentiam, ut per intemperantem furorem Sene-  
 cam praeceptorem, virtutum omnium assertorem, mori coegerit, matrem  
 crudeliter ac inhumane occiderit, Petrum et Paulum apostolos Christi  
 interemerit. Nam me Romae agente venerant illi ex Asia; et eorum  
 230 adventum graviter exhorrueram. Quippe cum audissem Christum a  
 Iudaeis crucifixum suaeque sponte carnificibus se obtulisse, percussit  
 ilico animum meum profunda cogitatio. En Deus mori voluit et ad hoc  
 hominem se fecit. Altissima sunt Dei consilia, culpa primi parentis redi-  
 mitur, et mors morte pensatur.

235 Quis dubitet malum aliquod parari mihi meisque consortibus? Mutes-  
 cunt idola, fugantur daemones, sanantur infirmi, mortui suscitantur, pau-  
 perculi miracula passim edunt. Quid credam, nisi interitum vitiis mihi  
 familiaribus imminere? Sed cum vidi apostolos trucidatos, et qui vices  
 eorum agere conati sunt, dispergi passimque necari, solabar equidem  
 240 me, praesertim quod quamvis crescebat numerus Christianorum et quasi  
 grana frumenti uno extincto, quamplurimi [43v] subcrescebant et pullu-  
 labant, frequentissima semper erat turba meorum amicorum et clientum.

Nam et imperatores amici numquam mihi per intervalla defuerunt.  
 Constantinus me sane deterruit: qui signa magna dedit, orbem ab impe-  
 245 rio daemonis velle vindicare. Quid commemorem terrores quibus sum  
 affecta, cum martyres et virgines contemnebant tyrannos, mortem appe-  
 tebant, et sustinebant libenti animo cruciatus? Prodigia mirandaque  
 miracula facile sic edebant, ut corpora viderentur habere caelestia et  
 mentes in Deo fixas. Illo quidem tempore laborabam ego plane nimis  
 250 anxia, quo tenderet tanta martyrum virtus atque patientia, quod profun-  
 dissima Dei consilia lavandum, detergendum, sanandum tanto piorum  
 sanguine pararent. Ceterum quamvis Christiana respublica vigeat et  
 augebatur in dies magis magisque, semper ego cum meis sororibus et  
 matre regnabam ubique. Nulla regio neque civitas erat, in qua non ego

himself that ruling consisted entirely of matching the profligacy of previous emperors and of not departing from their pursuits.<sup>29</sup>

Now as for Nero — my sweetheart, my true desire! — [43r], with what words can he be worthily described by me? Why, he tried to persecute Continnence and drive her out of his kingdom, with so much eagerness that in his intemperate fury he forced his teacher, Seneca, the pursuer of every virtue, to die. He killed his mother in cruel and inhuman fashion.<sup>30</sup> He put to death Peter and Paul, the apostles of Christ. For when I was dwelling in Rome, they had come from Asia, and I deeply trembled at their arrival. Indeed, when I had heard the news that Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews and that he had offered himself to the executioners of his own free will, a deep thought struck my mind at once. See how God was willing to die, and not only that, but he made himself man. How deep are the plans of God: the sin of the first parent is redeemed, and death repaid by death.<sup>31</sup>

Who could doubt that some trouble was in store for me and my associates? Idols grew dumb; demons were routed; the sick were healed; the dead were raised; the humble poor performed miracles at every turn. What was I to believe except that destruction was threatening the vices that are customary to me? But when I saw the apostles cut down and saw those who tried to take their place scattered and killed far and wide, I found some consolation, especially since, although the number of Christians continued to rise — and like a grain of wheat, when one is snuffed out, a huge number [43v] start to grow up and increase —, the crowd of my friends and clients was always very great.

For emperors could be found from time to time, too, who were my friends. Constantine certainly discouraged me. He gave considerable indications that he wanted to win the world away from the power of the demon.<sup>32</sup> How can I tell you about the terrors with which I was assaulted when martyrs and virgins scorned tyrants, when they sought out death, accepting crucifixion with a pleasant disposition, when they easily performed amazing miracles, in such a way that they seemed to have heavenly bodies and minds fixed on God? Certainly at that time I was struggling, so very anxious about where this great virtue and patience of the martyrs was leading. What were the deep plans of God preparing to wash away, to wipe off and to heal by so great a flow of pious blood?

And yet, though the Christian republic thrived and increased more and more, day after day, I always kept reigning everywhere, along with my sisters and mother. There was no region and no state in which I did not have control over

<sup>29</sup> Suetonius records that Claudius was eager for food and wine at all times and in all places (*Divus Claudius*, 33, 1).

<sup>30</sup> Tacitus describes the death of Seneca (*Annales*, 15, 63-64), Nero's murder of his mother Agrippina (*Annales*, 14, 8), and his persecution of Christians (presumably including Peter and Paul) after the great fire of Rome in 64 (*Annales*, 15, 38-19, 44).

<sup>31</sup> Death, the penalty for the first man's sin, is paid for by the death of the God-man redeemer, restoring immortality to man.

<sup>32</sup> Constantine adopted and legalized Christianity by the Edict of Milan, 313.

255 primates et bonam plebis partem tenerem. Nam et Magmes sive Mahu-  
metes ut vos appellatis, quantum mihi populum acquisivit, lucrifecit,  
subiecit, per Africam, Asiam et partem Europae? Atque [44r] ut alios  
magni nominis sileam, eius alumnus Solimanus Turca qualis est mihi  
nunc amicus? Quantum pro [me] meaque gloria retinenda laborat, qui  
260 cum late regnet in Asia, dispulit Christianos ex parte non contemnenda  
Europae? Equidem illi debeo, quod Carolus Caesar non exegerit ex  
Europa parteque Africae meas copias, meos amicos, et perpetuo foedere  
devinctos.

De Carolo moderatius loquemur et cautius, quod agimus in suo  
265 regno; quamvis ille nescio quid mali quotidie machinatur meis sodali-  
bus et amicis. Pax, cui semper intendit belligerando, bellum mihi  
meisque minatur. Sed interim plures mihi serviunt etiam in suo regno,  
quam illi. Dominatur ille quidem in corporibus, mentes et corda ego ple-  
rumque possideo. Verset fortuna suas vices, ut solet, mutationes rerum  
270 inducat, semper mihi parent mortales plerique. Populus Christianus  
numerosissimus est, qui mecum ex diametro pugnat, cum vivit Chris-  
tiane. Ceterum maior pars non ita suis legibus est astricta, quin saepe-  
numero voluptati genitrici meae prosternatur. Itaque meum regnum late  
diffunditur adhuc. Nam si desciscunt alicubi quidam, ali-[44v]-bi multi  
275 deduntur. Magmetes omnes teneo, Germanos et Anglos propemodum,  
reliquos Christianos non equidem fatebor inimicos mihi. Nam etsi  
concionatores multique viri pii clamitant, minantur, deterrent non minus  
ab honestis oblectationibus, quam a turpibus (ut ipsi aiunt) voluptatibus,  
tanta vis est in nobis, tantus alliciendi vigor et calliditas, ut plerosque  
280 habeamus devinctos. Sum familiaris iam admodum Christianis (ut hoc  
te, iudex, non fugiat) et eorum festos dies maxime probo, quod sacris  
peractis, statim omnes me complectuntur, arrident, saviunt mecumque  
ludere gaudent.

the leading citizens and a good part of the common people. For even Magmes<sup>33</sup> — or Mahumet, as you call him — how great a population did he not acquire to enrich me and subject to me throughout Africa, Asia and part of Europe?

And [44r] not to mention other men of great reputation, his pupil Soliman, the Turk, what a friend he is of mine now! And how he works to maintain me and my glory! He has a large kingdom in Asia and he has driven the Christians out of a considerable part of Europe. In fact, I owe to him that Emperor Charles has not driven my forces, my friends, who are bound to me by perpetual treaty, out of Europe and part of Africa.<sup>34</sup>

Concerning Charles we shall speak more moderately and cautiously, as we are in his kingdom. Even so, every day he plots some sort of trouble against my companions and friends. The peace toward which he always aims in his war-making threatens me and my people with war. But in the meantime, more people serve me, even in his kingdom, than do him. He certainly dominates over bodies; I, for the most part, possess minds and hearts.<sup>35</sup>

Let Fortune make her changes as she usually does, let her introduce every kind of variation in the world; but most mortals always obey me. The Christian population is very numerous, and they fight on the opposite side, against me, when they live as Christians. But most of them are not so tightly bound to their own laws that they fail to bow, time and again, before Pleasure, my mother. And so my kingdom continues to be very widespread. For even if some do abdicate, now and again, many [44v] others surrender to me. I possess all the Muslims and almost all the Germans and English.<sup>36</sup> As for the remaining Christians, I will not indeed admit that they are hostile to me. For even if public speakers and many pious men keep shouting, threatening and scaring people as much away from honest diversions as from (to use their expression) shameful pleasures, there is so much strength in us, so great a power of seduction, and such shrewdness, that we have most people under our sway. I am already extremely familiar with Christians (make sure that this doesn't escape you, judge), and, for the most part, I approve very heartily of their festive days, when, having performed their holy ceremonies, they all at once embrace me, smile at me, kiss me. They rejoice at playing with me.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Maldonado's allusion to Muhammed as 'Magmes' and (below) his followers as 'Magmetes' may be a conscious fusion of Mohammed, founder of Islam, and Manes (or Mani; Latinized as Manichaeus), the legendary founder of Manicheism, a sect that competed with early Christianity. Alternatively, he may allude to the Greek word μάγγοι, which became *madjus* in Arabic, referring to the Zoroastrians.

<sup>34</sup> For Charles V's constant wars against Soliman, the Turkish sultan, in Europe, and against Barbarossa, the Berber pirate, in Africa, see P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos de Carlos V*. Ed. C. Seco Serrano (Madrid, 1956), II-III. Erasmus was councillor to the future Charles V and dedicated his *Education of a Christian Prince* to him (1516).

<sup>35</sup> Maldonado is critical of his own Spain.

<sup>36</sup> Maldonado refers to Protestant Europe.

<sup>37</sup> Maldonado is critical of the gluttonous aspects of Christian feasts. The gluttony of the clergy was ridiculed by Erasmus, e.g. *Praise of Folly*, pp. 131-132.

Quare gravis est mihi hodie impacta contumelia quod inter quos iam  
 285 dudum amicos agnosco, et diebus mihi sacris sum bello petita meoque foro  
 depulsa. Frustra quidem laborassem, iudex, commemorando, quae sunt a me  
 tuo in conspectu relata, si docere aut monere te constituissem. Nosti quae  
 sunt dicta, facta, cogitata non minus ab orbe condito quam, ut Christianorum  
 est sermo, ab orbe redempto; et ita quidem nosti, ut habeas apud te iam  
 290 damnata quae sunt iniusta, probata vero aequa. Ceterum non mihi consilium  
 fuit monere te, sed hos [45r] quidem docere, qui me forte non viderunt pros-  
 tratam, et ad iudicium spectandum convenerunt, ut simul et ipsi causam  
 intelligant, et cum te viderint iudicantem, et causam meam aequam pronun-  
 tiantem, sciant, quibus rationibus ductus iuste sancteque iudicaveris. Dixi.

295 *Chorus bacchantium*

Sint procul hinc graves, discedant longe severi, Bacchanalibus conce-  
 dant morosi: sua sunt tempora rebus. Orgia nunc facimus Maenades,  
 Bacchae, Mimallones, Chiaie simul cum Satiris, Tityris et Silenis. De  
 Libero male sentiunt, qui nos obturbant. Io Bacche, Liber, io tua canimus  
 300 praeconia. Tu nobis Morychus et Adoneus, tu Lyaeus Lenaeus et Erebin-  
 thius: cur non etiam eris nobis Sabazius, Scythites et Milichius? Nomina  
 tua nobis lingua quacumque placent. Tu nobis adsis vinumque propines  
 merum, purum, taurinum, vel potius hoc anno vinis infausto, vetus  
 Samartinum. Dabis tuis, si vis orgia esse laeta, mera meracissima, quae

Consequently, the insult that has been forced on me today is hard to bear; for while among those whom I have known as friends for a long time and in a period that is sacred to me, I was attacked bellicosely and driven away from my own forum. I would have certainly labored in vain, judge, in reporting all the things that have been related by me in your presence if I had intended to teach or advise you. You know what has been said, done and thought about since the creation of the world as well as (to use a Christian term) since the redemption of it; and you know it well enough to bear in mind things already condemned, which are unjust, and things approved, which are just.<sup>38</sup> But it was not my plan to advise you, but rather [45r] to teach these, who perhaps did not see me laid low and have come together to view the trial, so that they too may understand the case, so that when they have seen you standing in judgment and delivering a verdict in my just case, they may know by what considerations you have been influenced when you deliver a judgment in a righteous and holy manner. I have spoken.

### *Chorus of Revellers*

Let the stern stay far from here. Let the strict go far away. Let the gloomy give way to the revellers. Everything has its own season. We are now holding Bacchic orgies, we Maenads, Bacchae, Bacchantes, Chians,<sup>39</sup> together with Satyrs, Tityrians,<sup>40</sup> and Sileni.<sup>41</sup> Those who disturb us have a wrong opinion of Liber.<sup>42</sup>

Io Bacchus! Io Liber! It is your proclamation that we sing. You for us are Morychus and Adoneus;<sup>43</sup> you are Lyaeus, Lenaeus and Erebinthius.<sup>44</sup> Why shouldn't you also be to us Sabazius, Scythites and Milichius?<sup>45</sup> Your names are pleasing to us in any language. Be present with us; serve us wine, unmixed, pure, from Toro! Or rather, in this year not propitious for wines, some old San Martín.<sup>46</sup> Grant to your people, if you are willing, that your orgies be happy and

<sup>38</sup> Gluttony's plea that established, accepted, norms (such as carnival itself) be respected may well reflect Maldonado's Erasmian wish to re-spiritualize certain traditional aspects of Catholicism.

<sup>39</sup> Chians: inhabitants of Isle of Chios, famous for their licentious lifestyle.

<sup>40</sup> Tityrians: generic name for shepherds, from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 8.55.

<sup>41</sup> Sileni: creatures that were part human and part horse.

<sup>42</sup> Liber: Roman equivalent of Bacchus. The name is evidently used here partly for the sake of playing on the meaning of "free." Compare also the praise of Bacchus (who can "free the mind from care") in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (Toronto, 1986) p.119.

<sup>43</sup> Morychus and Adoneus: epithets used for Dionysus/Bacchus.

<sup>44</sup> Lyaeus, Lenaeus and Erebinthius: synonyms for Dionysus/Bacchus.

<sup>45</sup> Sabazius, Scythites and Milichius: Sabazius, an Eastern Dionysus-like god, later fused with Dionysus/Bacchus (see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, p. xxiii); Scythites, northern barbarians to the Greeks, famous for heavy drinking (see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, p. xxi); Milichius, legendary Iberian king.

<sup>46</sup> The wines from the areas of Toro and San Martín were apparently those preferred in Burgos, because Maldonado makes reference to them in other writings. See, for example, his *Ludus Chartarum Triumphus* (Burgos, 1549), pp. 34-35.



305 praecordia calfaciant, mentes exhilarent. Quid sibi vult Continentia?  
 A-[45v]-beat malum in profundum tenebrarum. Baccho Genioque lita-  
 mus. Malevoli discedant. Quid opus iudicio? Taceat iudex, dissimulet,  
 coniveat, vel nobiscum ludos ludat, et Bacchanalia, cantitans «Evoe,  
 Liber, Evoe, Bacche, tua facimus orgia, tibi litamus, tibi nos devovemus  
 310 et consecramus».

### *Accensus*

Conticeant omnes iam tandem; cessent bacchantes. Ingluvies egit cau-  
 sam suam satis cum silentio. Mimallones et Satyri debacchati sunt  
 omnino libere; Continentia nunc audiatur et ei silentium idem praestetur,  
 315 quo Iudex utriusque cognita causa ferat ex aequo sententiam.

### *Continentiae oratio*

Si tua singularis aequitas, venerande iudex, et in dignoscendis homi-  
 nibus perspicax iudicium iam olim omnibus notum non esset, verecun-  
 dius mihi sane cederet cum hac bestia vel potius immani fera conten-  
 320 disse. [46r] Non enim mulier iudicanda est, quae sepulta ratione bonos  
 omnes abiuravit affectus et in gulae ventrisque sentinam sese praecipita-  
 vit. Sed quia cognita tibi satis haec est, et quibus artibus irretiat mortales  
 intelligis, brevissime quae perperam exaggeravit in me confutabo.

Tu iam pridem nosti me et quem in finem mei tendant conatus haud  
 325 ignoras. Solummodo restat ut haec cristas ponere cogatur, et commen-  
 tum, quo usa est in dicendo, fuisse vanum et ad praedicandas et extol-  
 lendas suas sordes foedasque cogitationes effictum, luce clarius appareat.  
 Dixit irruisse me cum satellitibus in suos populares et familiam solitis  
 voluptatibus indulgentem. O saecula, o mores, o socordiam magistra-  
 330 tuum! Iactor nunc, deturbor, propellor cum bonis omnibus a perditissima  
 turba ganeonum; et dux eorum haec vivit? Et non modo vivit, sed in  
 lucem prodire audet atque in conspectum tanti iudicis venire? Quid dixi  
 venire? Immo cum fiducia verba facere suasque turpitudines et foeda fla-  
 gitia praedicare! Sed omittamus querellas: rem ipsam, quando te non  
 335 esse deceptum certo scio, tractemus.

Venisse me in forum Bacchanalibus, et ipsam vulneravisse, fami-  
 [46v]-liamque fugasse, conqueritur et lamentatur. O pestis hominum

that the wine be purer than pure. Let it heat up everyone's breast and bring joy to their minds. What is Continnence up to? [45v] Let her get the hell out of here, to the lowest depths of the infernal regions. We make our offerings to Bacchus and Genius. Let ill-wishers begone. Why is there need for a trial? Let the judge keep silent; let him conceal the truth or connive; or rather, let him sport with us, join the orgies, singing over and over: "Evoe, Liber, evoe, Bacchus!, it is your orgy that we celebrate. To you we pay homage, to you we devote and consecrate ourselves."

### *Accensus*

Quiet, everyone! Be quiet at last! Let the revelers settle down. When Gluttony pleaded her case there was silence enough. The Bacchantes and Satyrs have finished their wild revel with complete freedom. Let Continnence now be heard, and let us grant her the same silence, so that when both sides have presented their case, the judge may reach a fair decision.

### *Speech of Continnence*

Oh, venerable judge!, if your unique fairness and your keen perception in judging men had not already been well known to all, this task imposed on me would have surely caused me greater shame. I mean, competing with this animal, or should I say this monstrous wild beast. [46r] For how can she be judged a woman when she lulls reason to sleep, renounces all good emotions, and hurls herself into the cesspool of the maw and the belly?

But since she is already well known to you, and you understand the tricks by which she snares the human race, I will very briefly refute her false exaggerations against me. You have known me for a long time, and you are well aware of the goal toward which my efforts aim. This only remains: that she be forced to lower her crest and that it appear brighter than day that the lie that she used in her speech was in vain and was invented to advance and extol her own foul and filthy schemes.

She claimed that I rushed forward with my retinue against her followers and family when they were indulging in their customary pleasures. Oh, what an age, what customs! Oh, the laziness of the magistrates! I am tossed about, battered, thrown out along with all good people by this depraved gang of gluttons; and she, their leader, lives? Not only lives, but dares to come forward into the light and in view of so great a judge?<sup>47</sup> Why did I say 'to come forward'? No, rather to cheat good faith and preach her own foul and shameful practices. But let us leave aside our complaints. We will deal with reality itself, since I know for certain that you have not been deceived.

She laments and complains that I came into the forum during the festival, wounded her, [46v] and chased away her family. Oh, bitter plague of the human

<sup>47</sup> The last sentences echo the opening of Cicero's *First Catilinian Oration* (1, 2).

- acerba, non vereris hoc dicere iudicisque veracis aures mendacio tam impudenti diverberare? Veni quidem in forum hodierna die, sicuti quotidie soleo non in forum modo, sed in omnes urbis vicos et plateas, et comitata paucis sum forum ingressa. Ratio, veritas et prudentia me praecedebant; fides et caritas dextrum latus claudebant; sinistrum metus et spes; pone sequebantur integritas et constantia. Irruisse me dicit. Suspense quidem, ut soleo, gradu processi; cumque me prospectaret huius acies postrema, poenitentia plerique ducti, quod barbare despicientem et ignavam fuissent secuti, concurrerunt ad me, verecundantur et tacent; cupiunt et assentatione tacita prorsus efflagitant ab huius contubernio, in quod inciderant imprudentes, vindicari; quare blandiuntur et operam suam pollicentur. Socors Ingluvies videns me turba cinctam, cum adipe maderet et vino, putavit, qui mihi ex suis adhaeserant, meos esse commilitones, atque clamoribus urbem commovet, cives concitat et ipsa praecedens aggreditur in me. Cum vero in rationem et veritatem prius incurrisset [47r] imprudens, stimulis conscientiae perculsa vinoque supplantata corruit amens; et paulo post erecta clamitat a me fuisse vulneratam, quam solam prae stupore mentisque caligine videbat, quippe quae mecum graves gerat similitudines, et propterea meas germanas neque satis vidit neque pili quidem fecit. Contrudit in me perditos omnes et ni magistratus commodum intervenissent, pessimum fuisset facinus patratum.
- Ad confirmationem huiusce rei testibus non erat opus apud iudicem rerum scientem. Produxi tamen locupletissimos iam aliquot praesentaboque alium, si per te, iudex, licuerit; et quando petit Ingluvies suum quendam annosum audiri in hoc coetu, non quem morbus solum detinuit et quem ipsa denuo struxit ad mendacia confingenda, meus item non minus annosus in hoc solum adesse testimonio permittatur, ut refellat quae fuerint ei comperta mera esse mendacia. Haec ipsa fatetur me sine telo fuisse percussamque nullo apparente mucrone. Quod est validissimum argumentum delirasse prius et nunc penitus insanire, cum fateatur quod maxime facit contra se measque partes fulcit atque confirmat.
- Ratio, veritas scelerumque [47v] conscientia perturbaverunt ipsam. Nam et magistratus idipsum animadvertentes, ad te nos, iudex integerrime, miserunt, ut dum illi urbem percurrunt, et a seditionibus, quas excitat huius diei libertas, perditos cives avocant, tu tua sententia huius audaciam et temeritatem comprimeres ac suffocares.
- Quod ut tu faceres libentius et spectatoribus ego causam meam facilius probarem, possem in laudes et praeconia mea longe discurrere multaque

race! Do you not fear to say this? Are you not afraid to pound on the ears of a truth-telling judge with such an impudent lie? I did indeed come into the forum, as I am accustomed to doing every day, and not only into the forum, but into every district and square of the city. And I entered the forum in the company of a few. Reason, Truth and Prudence walked ahead of me. Faith and Charity protected my right side; Fear and Hope, my left side. Behind there followed Integrity and Constancy. She says that I 'rushed in'. Actually, I moved at a modest pace, as I usually do. When her rearguard had a look at me, most were moved by repentance because, in a barbarous manner, they had followed a lazy fool. They ran toward me, were ashamed and were silent. They desired — and virtually begged in silent agreement — to be set free from the association with her into which they had carelessly fallen. Consequently, they flattered me and promised their help.

Lazy Gluttony, stinking of lard and wine, seeing me surrounded by a crowd, thought that those people of hers who clung to me must be my fellow-soldiers. And so, with shouts, she stirred up the city; she aroused the citizens; and, she herself leading the way, attacked me. But after she had imprudently clashed with Reason and Truth [47r], she was goaded by conscience and, unsteady with wine, she fell down in a fit. A little later, when raised up, she kept shouting that she had been wounded by me, since I was the only one that she could see due to her confusion and mental fog. Moreover, she carries on a serious feud with me, and for that reason she neither saw my sisters nor gave a straw for them. She caused all depraved people to push forward against me, and if the magistrates had not intervened just in time, a terrible crime would have been committed.

To verify this matter, there was no need of witnesses before a judge who is knowledgeable about things. Yet I have already brought with me certain very trustworthy men, and I will present another one, if that is permitted by you, judge, so that, whenever Gluttony wants, her own elderly witness can be heard before this gathering, not only someone who was seized by illness, but someone whom she has prepared well to make up lies. Just the same, my own elderly witness should be permitted to provide testimony for this purpose alone: to show that the things dreamed up by her are nothing but pure lies.

She admits herself that I was without a weapon, and that she was struck although no sword was visible. This is the most compelling proof that she was hallucinating before and that she is now downright mad, when she admits a fact that tells greatly against her and supports and strengthens my side. Reason, Truth [47v] and an awareness of her crimes have confused her. For the magistrates, noticing this very thing, too, sent us to you, oh most upright judge!, so that, while they roam through the city and call depraved citizens away from the quarrels that the freedom of this day encourages, you, by pronouncing your judgment, might check and submit her boldness and rashness.

In order that you might do this more willingly, and that I more easily gain the approval of the spectators for my case, I could discourse at length in praise and celebration of myself. There is certainly a very wide field in which to maneuver,

de me vere praedicare. Spatiosissimus est plane campus ad evagandum, cum innumerabilia fuerint a me generi humano bona profecta malaque simul immensa detracta. Continentes quippe fuerunt, qui pietatem  
 380 induxerunt, qui de virtute bonisque moribus praeceperunt, qui bonas artes invenerunt, qui mortales ad concordiam pellexerunt, qui respublicas instituerunt, qui sancte simul dixerunt et vixerunt. Incontinentes vero impii flagitiosique omnes per quos mala cuncta mundo ingruerunt, virtutes exulaverunt, sectae penitus detestandae disseminatae longaque propagatae fuerunt, civitates et regna penitus interierunt.

Sed haec sunt omnia praetermittenda, cum haec ipsa nega-[48r]-re non possit, me esse bonorum omnium fontem, se vero malorum seminarium. Impudentissimi etiam videtur oris frontisque perfrictae, multa de se dicere, quae magis iactari putantur ad velanda, quae non probantur,  
 390 quam ad explicanda, quae vere si bona sunt, quo magis dissimules, eo magis digna praeconio censentur. Itaque de me, iudex, nihil utique praedicabo; huius de se praedicationes et iactantiam de principibus olim et nunc sibi obnoxiiis, ita confutabo, ut tibi perspicuum sit, me non ignorare quanta manaverint mala semper ab hac furia, ipsaque fateatur se iuste  
 395 fuisse damnatam. Sardanapalum dixit sibi fuisse obsequentem et fidelissimum amicum seque tum temporis diffusissime quidem regnasse. Hoc exemplum sufficere deberet ad hanc perdendam et ex orbe penitus amandandam, quandoquidem inficit mortales omnes, quos semel pellexit, et non modo improbos reddit peiores, sed et bona mente praeditos  
 400 nonnumquam conturbat et a recto sensu penitus alienat.

O intolerandam procacitatem! Virum ausa est nominare, quo regnante virtutes omnes in Syria graviter aegrotarunt interissentque omnino, si non mature fuisset ad mor-[48v]-tem compulsus. Tales enim plerumque sunt homines quales sunt imperantes. Quid pestilentius contingere potuit illi  
 405 saeculo, quam regem ab hac fuisse penitus enervatum et omnino corruptum? Iam illa quam iactat inscriptio sepulchri iudicio cunctorum et eius ipsius, si ponat aliquando belluinos affectus, magis bovis sepulchro quam hominis quadrare videtur. Quod autem praedicat Alexandrum Magnum nonnumquam sibi litasse mero madentem et ebrium, magis in dedecus et

since there have been innumerable benefits to the human race which have emanated from me, and also innumerable evils which I have removed. There have surely been temperate people who have introduced piety, taught about virtue and good character and discovered the good arts, who enticed mortals to reach a state of harmony, who established governments, who not only spoke in a holy manner but also lived so.

But as for intemperate people, they are all sinners and troublemakers. Through them all sorts of evils invaded the world, and virtues went into exile, and cults which were completely detestable were spread abroad and multiplied far and wide.<sup>48</sup> Whole states and kingdoms went down to their doom.

But we can pass all this by, for she herself [48r] cannot deny that I am the source of all good things, whereas she is the seed-bed of evils. Moreover, she appears to put up a very bold front, and has wiped away her blushes; she says a lot about herself, but what she says is intended more as a boast to cover up what is not commonly approved than to explain it. But when it comes to things which are really good, the more you cover them up, the more they are considered worthy of public proclamation.

And so, judge, concerning myself I shall, in any case, assert nothing. But as for her assertions about herself and her boasts about princes who were, then and now, subject to her, I will refute them in such a way that it will be clear to you how aware I am of the enormity of the evils which have always flowed from this Fury; and she herself will be forced to confess that she was justly condemned.

She said that Sardanapalus was her fawning and most faithful friend, and that at that time her rule was at its widest extent. This example ought to be enough to destroy her and banish her completely from the world, since, in fact, she puts her stain on all mortals, once she has seduced them; and not only does she take bad men and make them worse, but sometimes she even confuses those endowed with good minds and completely turns them aside from good opinion. Oh, the unbearable shamelessness! She dared to mention a man under whose rule all the virtues in Assyria came down with a deadly illness and would have completely died off if he had not been driven to death, [48v] and just in time. For most people are pretty much the same as their rulers. What more deadly could have befallen that age than a king to be rendered completely spineless and thoroughly corrupted by her? As for the inscription on his tomb that she brags about, in the opinion of all (and in her own opinion, too, if she would ever put aside her bestial appetites), it appears more suited for the tomb of a cow than of a human being.

As for her claim that Alexander the Great sometimes offered sacrifices to her when drunk and soused with wine, that claim redounds more to her shame and

<sup>48</sup> This passage perhaps best exemplifies how Maldonado — like religious thinkers of all ages; see, Introductory essay, note 7 — uses Gluttony, the most widespread and ostensible of the sins of incontinence, as primary source and representation of sinfulness in general. Dante, one may recall, fixed incontinence, represented by Gluttony in Maldonado, as one of the three major categories of sin (cf. *Inferno*, 5, 38-40).

410 ignominiam suam convertitur, quam in gloriam, quandoquidem praedicat suum, quod in Alexandro fuit turpissimum ac detestandum. Nam virtutes illius hominis numquam mortalis quisquam adaequasset, si bis aut ter in conviviis modum non excessisset et in amicos nimio potu furens desaevisset.

415 Haec ipsa de se dicit fateturque flagitia, quorum ob causam erat mundo exterminanda et in barathrum Plutonis detrudenda; quoniam viri bene nati summaque dexteritate praediti et propterea sua natura ad virtutem compositi denigrantur ab ea turpiaque facere coguntur. Sed ait impia cum Alexandro regnasse, quia semel aut iterum in vita possederit eum;  
420 [49r] et non videt virtutis amantem Alexandrum fuisse et bonis omnibus studiis praestantem, eiusque praeceptorem fuisse Aristotelem, qui praeclare quidem de virtutibus bonisque omnibus disciplinis scripsit; atque paulo ante vixisse Platonem et Socratem, qui tam arcte coluerunt virtutem, ut pro stercore conculcassent Ingluviem, si sub oculos aliquando  
425 venisset.

Neque est cur iacet M. Antonium et Lucillum voluptatibus solum natos fuisse: certis horis tenuit ipsos, et non totos, quod erant natura compositi ad magnanimitatem. Lucillus cenas apparabat magni sumptus ad captandam magis auram popularem et inanem quandam gloriam,  
430 quam ut voracitati penitus inserviret. Antonius aspirabat ad magnos conatus et culmen honorum; ita tamen capiebatur vino dapibusque selectis, ut interdum deturparet virtutes eximias, quibus merito posset gloriari. Itaque non minus viri boni quam illustres ambo censerentur, si penitus hanc, ut decuit, abnegassent et eius pestilentissimas cenas effugissent.

435 Potuisset tamen Ingluvies etiam inter suos sat vere nominare M. Apicium, altissimum, ut ait quidam, nepotum gurgitem. Sed verita est ne [49v] supploderetur, quoniam Apicius praeterquam quod libros de gula composuit, aviditate nimia cuiusdam pisculi navigavit in Africam et cum se deceptum intellexit, de suspendio cogitavit.

440 Ait tamen habere se viros et habuisse Christianos sibi non minus deditos quam priores illos ethnicos. Credo equidem maximeque doleo Christianos, quibus veritas omnis revelata est, contra leges quandoque divinas

disgrace than to her glory, since, in fact, she claims as her own the thing that was most shameful and detestable in Alexander. For no one on earth would ever have matched the virtues of that man, were it not for the fact that two or three times he went too far in banquets and made a violent attack on his friends while out of his head with too much drink.<sup>49</sup>

She makes the confession herself, and admits to outrages which are reason for her to be removed from the earth and thrust into the pit of Pluto. For, indeed, men of good birth, men endowed with the highest skills and consequently predisposed to virtue by their nature, are debased by her and forced to do shameful deeds.

But she shared the throne with Alexander, says the evil woman, because she had possession of him once or twice in his life; [49r] and she fails to see that Alexander was a lover of virtue and outstanding in all good pursuits, that his teacher was Aristotle, who wrote in a very commendable manner about virtues and all good disciplines, and that before him lived Plato and Socrates, who so avidly worshipped virtue that they would have stepped on Gluttony as though she were excrement if she had ever come within their sight.

Nor does she have reason to boast that Mark Antony and Lucullus were born for pleasure alone. She possessed them at certain hours, but not their whole beings, because they were predisposed to generosity by nature. Lucullus prepared banquets at great expense more to strive after popular favor and a kind of empty glory than totally to give himself over to his appetite. Antony strove after great accomplishments and the highest honors, yet he was so enticed by wine and exquisite foods that he sometimes debased the outstanding virtues of which he could rightly boast. And so they both would be considered good men, as well as famous, if they had completely rejected this woman, as they should have, and had fled from her most abominable banquets.

Even so, Gluttony would have still been able to truly name among her own people Marcus Apicius, the deepest whirlpool, as someone said, of all her descendants. But she was afraid [49v] that she would be whistled at,<sup>50</sup> since Apitius, aside from the fact that he wrote books about appetite,<sup>51</sup> was moved by his inordinate appetite for some little fish to sail to Africa, and when he realized that he had been deceived, he thought of hanging himself.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, she says she has men, and Christians, not less dedicated to her than those earlier pagans. I actually believe, and it grieves me very much, that Christians, to whom all truth has been revealed, sometimes act against divine law and commit

<sup>49</sup> On the death of Clitus see above note 15.

<sup>50</sup> In the Hispanic world this is the equivalent of booing.

<sup>51</sup> Marcus Apicius was a gourmet who lived under Tiberius. To him is attributed the cookbook, *De re Coquinaria*, *Cooking and Dining in Imperial Rome*. Athenaeus, *The Philosophers at Dinner*, 1, 7, relates the anecdote referred to by Maldonado. For the formula "altissimus nepotum gurgis", see Pliny, *Natural History*, 10, 133.

<sup>52</sup> According to Seneca, *To Helvidia on Consolation*, 10, 8, Apicius committed suicide, by poisoning, when his wealth was reduced to twelve million sesterces.



agere et illa committere, pro quibus mors illis aeterna denuntiata est. Quis enim Christianorum ignorat voracitati poenam esse perpetuam  
 445 constitutam a Deo? Et videmus heu multos primates ab hac ita deceptos, ut gulae cenisque magnificis audaciter indulgeant, posthabito timore poenae, quam delitiis capti saneque oppressi, graviter ferunt admoneri, tanto fore graviolem, quanto tardior illis acciderit.

Sed o perniciēs hominum Ingluvies, qua tua improbitate, socordia  
 450 somnoque profundo Christum es ausa nominare, cum eius tu famulos et amicos fallas, inficias omninoque perdas? Fateris Deum, quia negare non potes, et mortem eius intelligis ad eluendam culpam primi parentis obitam et ad redemptionem generis humani divinitus [50r] superatam; et ita curas pellicere liberos eius ac libertinos, quasi facias nihil, Christiani  
 455 sint quos perdas, an ethnici, cum ii perditī sint etiam si tu cesses, et illis sola tu sis interdum pereundi causa praecipua? Profecto omnibus in orbe degentibus commodissimum et valde necessarium est te pestilentissimam Hydram impunitam non abire, sed graviter caesam in terras omnibus hominibus inaccessas relegari, unde nullus tibi pateat reditus. Et si  
 460 cunctis mortalibus necessarium, Christianis maxime, quibus maiora pericula instant abs te.

Tu etiam, teterrima belua, feras aequo animo damnationem tuam. Nosti quae facinora perpetraveris, quos homines perdideris. Praestabilius multo tibi est fateri culpam et in exilium voluntarium ire, quam resti-  
 465 tando committere ut digna censearis, in cuius perniciem et internicionem mundus universus conspiret. Ethnicos multos per omnes aetates tua causa decoxisse penitus ac conturbasse, bene meministi. Nam Christianos non queror per te decoxisse tantum, quamvis inde malorum multorum principia ducuntur, quam quod alii corpus, alii animam, multi corpus et animam per te tuasque [50v] sorores perdiderunt. Quod maxime  
 470 dolendum est, neque amplius tolerandum. Tuam igitur, iudex integerime, diuturnitatem, perpetuamque constantiam obtestor, ut causam communem doleas populiue Christiani miserearis. Et quando pestis haec contagiosissima conata est hodierna die civitatem primo civilibus  
 475 armis, deinde, cum male cederent arma, mendaciis et falsis testimoniis perturbare omniumque animis perpetuam miseramque caliginem offundere, tum ipsa de se fateatur scelera damnaque Christianis illata, nullis cruciatibus nullaue morte satis pensanda, saltem ea poena coerceas,

acts for which they have been threatened with eternal death. For what Christian does not know that an eternal punishment for gluttony has been established by God? And we see — alas! — many high churchmen so deceived by her that they boldly indulge in their appetites and magnificent banquets, disregarding the fear of punishment, a punishment that, captivated by pleasure and virtually overwhelmed by it, they resist being sternly warned about, though it will be the more severe the longer it delays happening to them.<sup>53</sup>

But — Oh, Bane of Mankind! — with what wickedness and sloth, and out of what deep sleep, have you dared, Gluttony, to speak the name of Christ, when you yourself are deceiving his servants and friends, corrupting them and completely ruining them? You confess he is God, because you cannot deny him; and you realize that his death was undertaken to wash away the sin of the first parent and also that he overcame death by a miracle [50r] to redeem the human race. And yet do you take pains to entice his redeemed, as well as the unredeemed,<sup>54</sup> as though you don't care whether those whom you destroy are Christian or pagan, on the grounds that they were already ruined even if you did nothing? But you alone are sometimes the main reason for their ruin! Surely for all who dwell on earth it is most convenient, and indeed necessary, that you — you disease-bearing Hydra — that you should not go away unpunished, but be seriously wounded and banished to lands that are inaccessible to all men, from which no return will lie open to you. And if this is necessary for all men, it is especially so for Christians, threatened by you with greater dangers.

You, you most foul beast, actually would calmly endure your own damnation. You know what crimes you have committed and what people you have ruined. It would be much better for you to confess your guilt and go into voluntary exile, rather than to resist, and bring it about that you be deemed worthy of having the entire world plot your destruction and massacre. You well remember that heathens, in every age, have suffered losses and gone bankrupt for your sake. As for the Christians, I am not so much complaining that they have suffered losses through you — although the origins of many evils can be traced to that — as I complain that some have lost their bodies, some their souls, many, both [50v] body and soul, through you. This is much to be lamented and can be endured no longer. Therefore, oh, most honest judge, I plead by your long life and perpetual constancy that you grieve over our common cause and take pity on Christian people. And since this most virulent plague has on this very day made an assault on the state — at first with weapons; then, when weapons did not succeed, tried to cause trouble with lies and false testimony, casting an eternal and wretched dust on the minds of all —, then make her admit, herself, to the crimes and losses perpetrated against Christians, crimes that no crucifixion and no death would be enough to offset. Thus, check her at least with a penalty which

<sup>53</sup> See note 37 above.

<sup>54</sup> Maldonado's contrasted terms, 'libertos'/'libertinos,' may play on the Castilian sense of 'libertino' as a defier of Christian ethics: 'libertos'/liberated-redeemed/Christian; 'libertinos'/viceful/pagan.

quae illam perpetuo luce privet et conspectu mortalium per saecula  
 480 cuncta releget. Erit enim eiusmodi poena si non par eius consonaque  
 sceleribus ac improbitati, tuae certe sapientiae benignitatieque censebitur  
 apta. Dixi.

*Chorus prudentium*

Procul hinc, procul sint ganeones: virtutes adsumus, nostrae consul-  
 485 turae, prospecturae, fauturae sorori. Quis umquam vidit? Quis audivit  
 nec somniavit quidem iudicium [51r] admirandum et inauditum? Inglu-  
 vies accusat Continentiam: virtus agitur rea, virtuti dicitur dies. Even-  
 tus tamen tollet admirationem. Iudex cuncta videt et cogitat alte. Talis  
 erit sententia, qualis iudicis fides ac integritas. Fugabuntur ignavi,  
 490 exterminabuntur socordes, perdit ganeones aqua et igni interdcentur,  
 Ingluvies in caecum carcerem contrudetur et ad perpetuas tenebras  
 damnabitur. Plaudite, concinite cives, veritas valeat, iustitia vigeat,  
 impietas relegetur. Ingluvies cum suo paedore praeceptis abeat malam in  
 rem.

495 *Tempus iudex; paedor et pudor testes.*

*Tempus*

Quoniam non solum hic agitur de hodierna seditione, quae facilis erat  
 iudicatu multorum testimonio, sed priorum etiam aetatum intenduntur et  
 refelluntur crimina, quae nullis mortalium testimoniis valent compro-  
 500 bari, propterea me iudicem constituerunt magistratus; qui novi quod ges-  
 tum est ab orbe con-[51v]-dito, et falli nullo modo possum. Sed ante-  
 quam pronuntiem, ne querantur partes iudicium fuisse non aequum,  
 testes audiamus grandaevos, qui praesentia feruntur vidisse et praeterita  
 multorum saeculorum meminisse. Prodeant tandem in medium.

505 *Paedor*

Ego sum testis in causam Ingluviei iuratus.

will deprive her constantly of light, keeping her away from the sight of mortals for all time. For a punishment of this sort, even if it is not equal to and on a parity with her crimes and wickedness, will surely be considered appropriate to your wisdom and kindness. I have spoken.

*Chorus of the Wise*

Depart from here, depart, all you gluttons. We, the Virtues, are present, ready to give advice to, look after, and show support to our sister. Who ever saw such a thing? Who ever heard, or even dreamed, of a court case [51r] so amazing and unprecedented? Gluttony accuses Continence; virtue is on trial as a defendant, a court date is set for virtue. But the outcome will remove all surprise. The judge sees all and his opinions are lofty. The judgment will be suited to the faithfulness and integrity of the judge. The lazy shall be chased out. The sluggish will be killed off. The depraved gluttons will be deprived of fire and water. Gluttony will be thrust into a dark prison and condemned to perpetual shadows. Applaud and sing together, citizens. Long live truth! Let righteousness reign and impiety be checked. Let Gluttony, with her Filth, go straight to hell!

*Time, the judge; Filth and Shame, witnesses.*

*Time*

Since it is not only a question here of today's uprising, which was easy to judge due to the testimony of many, but of crimes, also, of many previous ages that are presented and refuted — crimes that could be assented to by the testimony of no mortals —, the magistrates have appointed me as judge, I, who know what has been done [51v] since the beginning of the world and can by no means be deceived. But before I pronounce judgment, lest the parties complain that it is not fair, let us listen to witnesses of great age who are reported to have seen the present and to remember the actions of many past centuries. Let them, finally, come forward.

*Filth*

I am a witness sworn to testify for the cause of Gluttony.

*Tempus*

Ergo si probas eius causam, suspectus eris testis.

*Paedor*

510 Mittamus proprietatem verborum: argutiae grammaticorum non sunt  
huius loci.

*Tempus*

Nisi proprie fueris locutus, testimonium tuum erit ambiguum nec  
usque faciet fidem.

515 *Paedor*

Dico me iurasse vera dicturum in hac causa.

*Tempus*

Satis: qui vocaris?

*Paedor*

520 De nomine quaeris? Non mihi nomen simplex nec velim prolatum.

*Tempus*

Profer inquam.

*Paedor*

525 Nutritores suillum appellarunt, quod e partu mortua matre, sus me lac-  
taverit. Postea cum essem aetate integra, hirudinem me compellarunt  
sodales et illud nomen per aliquot saecula retinui.

*Time*

Then, if you approve of her cause,<sup>55</sup> you will be a suspect witness.

*Filth*

Let us not consider the propriety of words. The subtleties of grammarians are not appropriate to this place.

*Time*

Unless you speak precisely, your testimony will be unclear and will convince no one.

*Filth*

I tell you that I have sworn to speak the truth in this case.

*Time*

Enough. How are you called?

*Filth*

Are you asking about my name? My name is not a simple one. I would rather not state it.

*Time*

State it, I tell you.

*Filth*

Those who raised me called me a swine. My mother died in bearing me and a sow nursed me. Afterwards, when I had grown up, my companions called me a blood-sucker and I kept that name for some generations.

<sup>55</sup> Filth appears to use *causa* in the sense of "legal proceeding" or "case," but Time understands the word in the sense of "justificatory principle," "claim."

*Tempus*

Exugebas tu forte pampinorum sanguinem?

530 *Paedor*

Non mihi male quadrabat nomen.

*Tempus*

Nunc vero quod tibi nomen est?

*Paedor*

535 Bibacchus.

*Pudor*

Non tergiverseris; alio nunc compel-[52r]-laris nomine, quo solo cognitus es ubique.

*Paedor*

540 Quid tua refert? Age quod agis et mitte mea cognomina.

*Tempus*

Bene quidem facit. Nam et hic iuravit, quae falsa tu dixeris confutatum.

*Time*

Did you, perhaps, suck out the blood of young vines?<sup>56</sup>

*Filth*

The name was not ill-suited to me.

*Time*

But what is your name now?

*Filth*

Bibacchus.<sup>57</sup>

*Shame*

You must not be evasive. You are now [52v] addressed by a different name, the only one by which you have been known everywhere.

*Filth*

What is it to you? Mind your own business and don't talk about my names.

*Time*

He is acting correctly, for he has also sworn to refute whatever lies you may tell.

<sup>56</sup> Time ties Filth, via wine, the Dionysian representation par excellence (see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, p. 105 ), to Bacchus.

<sup>57</sup> Possible word-play by Maldonado. The word could be read as derived from 'bibax,' given to drink; but could also be read as 'Twice-Bacchus,' possibly recalling the Dionysian legend, in which Zeus makes a 'second' or 'simulacrum' of young Dionysus in order to deceive his wife Hera. See Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, p. 108.



*Pudor*

545 Tacet nomen quasi turpe, cum sint quae fatetur turpiora et sane si causas suorum nominum recenseret, oblectaret spectatores et nihil sui honoris deperiret.

*Paedor*

Non facit ad causam; rem nostram agamus.

550 *Tempus*

Dic tu Pudor, quando cessat hic et contra naturam erubescit.

*Pudor*

Dicam nominis causam, quod vitat; reliqua nunc sileantur. Cum Nero Romam incendit, in culina cuiusdam senatoris abdomine plenus et vino  
555 hic oscitabat neque flammam intellexit, donec omnibus fuga dilapsis, ignis circum tempora crepitabat; tum repente perterritus et amens, cum reliqua teneret ignis, in latrinam se praecipitavit, atque inde vix tandem extractus olensque oletum, vitabatur ab omnibus acclamantibus et se mutuo cohortantibus «Paedorem, Paedorem fugite», unde illi nomen  
560 adhaesit, quod numquam valuit eradere.

*Paedor*

O pessimos hominum mores, noverunt displicere mihi nomenclaturam et propterea libentius [52v] iterant; et cum mecum nihil habeant, nominant tamen, quo mordeant et infestent.

565 *Tempus*

Non mireris: naturale quidem est. Esto tuum nomen nunc Paedor et illuc da os† scribae. Sed quo patre genitus?

*Shame*

He omits mention of his name as though it were shameful, whereas what he confesses to is more shameful. And surely, if he were to recount the reasons for his names, he would amuse the spectators and lose nothing of his honor.

*Filth*

This is not helping the case. Let us handle our own business.

*Time*

You speak, Shame, since he is hesitating, and blushing against his nature.<sup>58</sup>

*Shame*

I will state the reason for the name that he is avoiding. Let us pass over the rest for the present. When Nero burned Rome, this man, stuffed with fat and wine, was dozing in the kitchen of a certain senator. He was unaware of the flames until, when all had escaped by flight, the fire was crackling around his very forehead. Then, suddenly maddened by fright, since everything else was in flames, he jumped into the privy. From there he was finally dragged out later, stinking of filth. Everyone avoided him while shouting and urging one another: "Filth! Run from Filth!." Thus, that name stuck to him, which he has never been able to erase.

*Filth*

Oh, wretched character of men! They know that I don't like that name, and so they repeat it all the more. And although they have no quarrel with me, they still use the name in order to hurt me and cause me trouble.

*Time*

Don't be surprised. It is perfectly natural. Let your name now be Filth and so give it to the clerk. But who was your father?

<sup>58</sup> Because, as Filth, shame is not in his nature.

*Paedor*

Nullo quidem.

570 *Tempus*

Ergo tu nihil: quandoquidem, ut garriunt philosophi, ex nihilo nihil fit.

*Paedor*

Patrem non novi. Nam in extructione turris Babilonicae cum perturbarentur linguae, meus pater, qui bitumen conficiebat ad coagmentandos lapides, abiit in longinquas regiones, et salsamentorum conficiendorum et concinnandorum artem invenit, docuit et exercuit; neque mihi visus amplius.

*Tempus*

Nomen quaero, non ubi sit gentium.

580 *Paedor*

Nomen fugit a me.

*Pudor*

Quamvis ingurgitationes somnique profundi memoriam suffocent neque sinant quandoque etiam hesterna meminisse, tu tamen nunc mera  
585 mendacia fingis. Gestas insignia parentis et imaginem tamquam egregia

*Filth*

I had none.

*Time*

Then you are nothing, inasmuch as, so the philosophers babble,<sup>59</sup> nothing can come from nothing.

*Filth*

I do not know my father. For at the construction of the Tower of Babel, when the languages were being mixed up, my father, who was making pitch to make stones adhere, went away into distant parts and discovered the art of making and preparing pickled fish.<sup>60</sup> He taught and practiced this art and was never seen by me again.

*Time*

I want to know his name, not his whereabouts.

*Filth*

His name escapes me.

*Shame*

Gorging yourself and sleeping deeply have dulled your memory and sometimes do not even allow you to remember what happened yesterday. Even so, what you are doing now is making up pure lies. You are wearing the insignia of your father, and his image,<sup>61</sup> as though they were excellent decorations, and his

<sup>59</sup> Christians, believers in God's 'creation,' see the classical philosophical maxim, *Nihil ex nihilo fit*, as unacceptable. Maldonado may have noted the maxim, for example, in the Epicurean thinker Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 150.

<sup>60</sup> Filth's father's identity is made purposely obscure, and, in this case, he is laughably demeaned. Maldonado may be alluding to Erasmus's colloquy "Ichthyophagia," 'Concerning the Eating of Fish' (1526). Erasmus despised fish and his colloquy is a debate on religious issues between a butcher and a fishmonger. See C. Thompson *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 312-357.

<sup>61</sup> *Insignia* could refer to medals or coins, which is what is suggested by their having an image and having to be pulled out. There were, in effect, coins with the image of Dionysus (See Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, p. 81).

decora, et excidit tibi nomen? Profer insignia eorumque redde rationem,  
et iudici satis erit.

*Tempus*

Volo, iubeo.

590 *Paedor*

Risistis ante quam noritis causam. Pudor explicet; ego iam vestro sum  
derisu praepeditus.

*Tempus*

Dic [53r] tu tandem, quando haesitat hic.

595 *Pudor*

Libenter. Fuit huius pater, et est (opinor), si vivit, in ganeam propen-  
sus; et ita laetitia perfundebatur, cum dici se audiebat vini pinguiumque  
capacem, ut duceret strenuum in conviviis deglutiendo bibendoque  
superare. Cum autem Aeneas duxit Creusam, studuit Venus, nervis  
600 omnibus intentis, ut convivium nuptiale lautum mirum in modum esset  
ac opiparum. Huius autem pater secum reputans non semper opportuni-  
tatem dari nominis illustrandi, corripere constituit occasionem, et omni-  
bus nectari ambrosiaeque intentis, videns in parte mensae diversa botel-  
lum pinguiculum, involat et correptum uno haustu devorare festinat. Sed  
605 partem postremam, quae crassior erat, non valens transmittere, spiritu  
compresso prosternitur et sub mensam resupinus, parte botelli propen-  
dente, ore diducto, insternitur. Concurrunt omnes ad sublevandum et,  
cum botellum ore videre pendentem ipsumque mortuum credidere, alii  
miserebantur, alii dolebant inopinatum casum; plerique ridebant et  
610 cachinnis excipiebant adventantes. Ille autem revixit tandem atque uno  
vehementi screatu botellum et quod [53v] erat in stomacho congestum  
expulit circumstantemque turbam vino iureque indigesto respersit.

name has escaped you? Bring out the insignia and give an account of them, and that will be enough for the judge.

*Time*

I so wish and order it.

*Filth*

You laugh before knowing the reason. Let Shame explain it. I am restrained by your mockery.

*Time*

Then [53r] you answer, since he is hesitating.

*Shame*

Gladly. His father was — and is, I suppose, if he is alive — a frequenter of public houses and was so overjoyed when he heard it said that he had an exceptional capacity for wine and fat, that he considered it a sign of strength at banquets to win out at drinking and gorging himself. However, when Aeneas married Creusa, Venus strove with all her might so that the wedding banquet be fine and elegant to a remarkable degree.<sup>62</sup> But his father, thinking to himself that such an opportunity would not always present itself to glorify his name, decided to seize the occasion, and when everyone was intent on nectar and ambrosia, seeing in a different part of the table a rather fat sausage, he rushed in, grabbed it, and hastened to devour it in one bite. But not being able to swallow the last part of it, because it was very thick, his breath was cut off and he was laid low. Because he lay flat under the table — with part of the sausage sticking out, with his mouth wide open — he was covered up. Everyone ran forward to carry him out; and when they saw the sausage hanging out of his mouth and believed he was dead, some showed pity, others grieved at the sudden disaster, many laughed and greeted him with guffaws as they came forward. He, however, finally came back to life, and, after loudly hawking and spitting, [53v] he expelled the sausage and what had congealed in his stomach and showered those who were standing around with wine and undigested soup.

<sup>62</sup> There is no description of Creusa's wedding to Aeneas anywhere that we know of. Venus, Aeneas' mother, took him under her protection. Maldonado, because he is offering a description patently his own, perhaps avoided—while giving a semblance of realism, that is, mentioning Creusa/Aeneas—any wedding of which there was a classical description, which he would have had to distort.

*Paedor*

Narras tu facinora mei parentis tamquam magis ridenda quam praedi-  
 615 canda; nos aliter sentimus. Perinde sunt res ut existimantur. Ferro vel  
 globulis plumbeis confossi et transverberati laudantur a vobis, ut qui  
 putetis egregium vulnera pati ferroque mori; nos impendio magis stul-  
 tum putamus in acie mori quam in caupona. Imo cautius videtur vino  
 perturbatum occumbere nihil sentientem, quam plagis discerptum per-  
 620 horrendos cruciatus oppetere. Convaluit tunc meus pater; non tamen  
 existimaremus deflendum, si mortem tam dulcem obiisset.

*Pudor*

Scio non periisse, nomenque fortuitum [an *sortitum*?] ex eo casu  
 botellum et botivoram, quod tu fugis nominare, cum antea farcimivoram  
 625 quidam, alii vinipotam appellarent.

*Paedor*

Maledicus es; nolim tecum contendere. Iudex quaerat, tu tace, nisi  
 rogatus.

*Tempus*

630 Omittamus nomen parentis. Dic quod magis necessarium est. Nosti  
 Continentiam?

*Paedor*

Novi quidem de facie aliorumque commemoratione; apud eam num-  
 quam sum diversatus nec in [54r] colloquium veni, quod eius studia mihi  
 635 displicent et ieiunia deterrent.

*Tempus*

Aderas hodie prope, cum est proelium commissum?

*Filth*

You are talking about my father's deeds as though they were to be laughed at rather than praised. We have a different opinion. Things are pretty much as they are thought to be. Those who have been pierced or pounded by the sword or by lead balls are praised by you, since you think it is excellent to suffer wounds and to die by the sword. But we think that it is very much more stupid to die in battle than in a whorehouse. Indeed, it appears more prudent for someone to die when he feels nothing because he is befuddled with wine than to undergo horrible torture and be torn apart by blows. My father regained his health that time, but we would not have considered it cause for weeping if he had died such a sweet death.

*Shame*

I know he didn't die, and that from that accident he got his name "Sausage" or "Sausage-gobbler," which you are failing to mention. While before that some people called him "Sausage-Bolter" or "Winebibber".<sup>63</sup>

*Filth*

You are a slanderer. I will not argue with you. Let the judge ask questions, and you be quiet unless you have been asked.

*Time*

Let's leave out your father's name. Tell us what is more to the point: do you know Continenence?

*Filth*

I know her by sight and from the remarks of others. I have never spent time with her nor have I talked with her, because her interests displease me and her fasts drive me away.

*Time*

Were you close at hand today when a fight broke out?

<sup>63</sup> Wine, of course, and sausage (both as meat and as a phallic representation) are associated with Dionysus/Bacchus. See Introductory Essay, p. 14.



*Paedor*

Aderam et omnia diligenter sum contemplatus.

640 *Tempus*

Quae prior invasit alteram?

*Paedor*

In vasa pronior erat Ingluvies.

*Tempus*

645 Mitte nunc vasa; quae prior incurrit in alteram? Dic tandem.

*Paedor*

Curru non vehitur Ingluvies, et Continentia nihilominus pedibus incedebat.

*Tempus*

650 Parum percipis tu Latinam grammaticam. Verba communia passimque obvia non intelligis?

*Paedor*

Grammaticam aliquando didici neque culinariam artem Latine quisquam explicabat proprius nec elegantius. Vina tamen suffocant ingenium  
655 memoriamque perturbant.

*Tempus*

Dic tandem quae prior adorta.

*Filth*

I was, and I observed everything very carefully.

*Time*

Which woman attacked the other first?

*Filth*

Gluttony was faster in her cups.<sup>64</sup>

*Time*

Forget about cups. Which was the first to assault the other? Come now, speak!

*Filth*

Gluttony does not ride in a chariot.<sup>65</sup> Both she and Continence were on foot.

*Time*

You inadequately grasp Latin grammar. Don't you understand common words, words used every day?

*Filth*

I learned grammar once, and no one was has ever more correctly or more elegantly set forth the art of cooking in Latin. And yet wine impedes clear thinking and disturbs the memory.

*Time*

Tell us, finally, which woman attacked first.

<sup>64</sup> Maldonado has Filth's prevaricative word confusion be based on *invasit* versus *in vasa*.

<sup>65</sup> The word-play, this time, is between *incurrit* and *in curru*.

*Paedor*

Pares videbantur aetate, neque divinaverim facile quae sit annosior.

660 *Tempus*

Aut ignorantia teneris Romani sermonis profundissima, aut tergiversa-  
ris quae scire dissimules.

*Paedor*

Remove nunc compositiones ac praepositiones, quas neque valui dis-  
665 cere neque libet meminisse, quoniam odi maxime ex eo tempore, quo  
me severe caedebat Didascalus, earum nomina et usum [54v] requirens;  
atque grammatici transfugam appellarunt, quod ex eorum arte transfuge-  
rim ad popinariam et artocream; quod utinam fecissem maturius!

*Pudor*

670 Vere commemora quid te disturbaverit a grammaticis et schola. Quid  
te pudere simulas?

*Paedor*

Non libet.

*Tempus*

675 Dic tu. Sine paedorem aliquando pudere tecumque vivere vel simu-  
late.

*Pudor*

Nihil equidem mentiar. Grammaticus qui hunc instituebat adeo  
ferox, asper et inhumanus erat, ut praeter ferulas duri corticis, etiam  
680 ferreas haberet litteras et syllabas surculo sculptas, quas igni candentes

*Filth*

They seemed equal in age. I would not be able to guess easily which one is the older.<sup>66</sup>

*Time*

Either you are handicapped by profound ignorance of the Roman tongue or you are evading me and pretending not to understand.

*Filth*

Don't give me compound verbs and prepositions, that I never could learn and that it doesn't please me to remember, since my hatred starts especially from the time when Didascalus (my teacher) used to beat me severely, asking me [54v] their names and uses, and the grammarians used the word 'deserter' because I deserted from their art to kitchens and meat-shops. I wish I had done it sooner.

*Shame*

Give a true report of what drove you away from the grammarians and from school. What do you pretend to be ashamed of?

*Filth*

I don't want to.

*Time*

You must speak. Let Filth be ashamed, finally, and at least pretend that he lives with you.<sup>67</sup>

*Shame*

I will tell no lies. The grammarian who taught him was so fierce, harsh and inhuman that in addition to his rods of hard wood, he even had iron letters and syllables formed out of twigs which were as hot as fire and with which he

<sup>66</sup> Filth understand *adorta*, 'attack,' in its secondary sense, 'start out,' 'be born'.

<sup>67</sup> Another reference to Filth's natural shamelessness.

pulpamentis displicentium sibi discipulorum inurebat. Atque die certo, cum is vino dapibusque repletus socorditer responderet ad interrogata, coniunctiones ipsas et praepositiones sinistre redditas ac denominatas inussit flagrantibus postico pulpamento. Quo dolore percitus fugit, grammaticae grammaticisque maledicens, uitori praesertim perpetuas inimicitias et vindictam denuntians. Nam Latine scit, cum sobrius est minimeque furens ut nunc, recordatione cicatricum. Utere tu, iudex, simplicibus, ne refrices eius ulcera.

*Paedor*

690 Potuisses tu hoc dissimulare, si bo-[55r]-nam in hanc causam mentem induisses.

*Tempus*

Feras aequo animo; non utar compositis deinceps, ne tibi ebulliant cicatrices. Dic tandem a qua parte orta primum est seditio.

695 *Paedor*

Ingluvies tenebat forum iure suo geniali die. Ludebant, saltabant, cantabant, potabant, seque ingurgitabant omnes et laetitia perfundebantur, cum ecce Continentia instat ex parte diversa propellere postremos, donec via quasi ferro facta, pervasit ad Ingluviem. Illa commota, videns suos plerosque vertisse faciem, ruit et asserere suas partes liberali causa manu contendit. Cumque committi satagit cum Continentia, repente corrui graviter vulnerata.

*Tempus*

Quo telo percussa est?

branded the flesh of the pupils he didn't like. And on a certain day, when he was filled up with wine and feasting and answered the questions in a sluggish manner, giving the wrong names for the conjunctions themselves and the prepositions, the teacher branded him on the flesh of his buttocks. Struck by the pain of this, he fled, cursing both grammar and the grammarians. He in particular vowed eternal hostility and revenge toward the one who had burned him. For he knows Latin when he is sober and is not raging as much as he is now, remembering the scars. You, as judge, must use simples<sup>68</sup> so as not to reopen his wounds.

### *Filth*

You could have covered this up, if you [55r] had adopted a good attitude in this case.

### *Time*

Endure it calmly. I shall not use compounds after this;<sup>69</sup> so your scars need not flare up again. Tell us, finally, which of the parties first instigated this quarrel.

### *Filth*

Gluttony was holding sway in the forum, as is her right on her birthday.<sup>70</sup> They were playing, dancing, singing, drinking, eating like pigs and enveloped in happiness. Then, behold, Continenence started, obliquely, to drive out the people in the back, until, having cleared a path as though with a sword, she pushed her way forward toward Gluttony. Gluttony was stirred up when she saw that most of her people had turned their faces away. She rushed up and strove to exert her rights by force in a cause involving her freedom.

While she was all in a rush to clash with Continenence, suddenly she fell back, having been seriously wounded.

### *Time*

By what weapon was she wounded?

<sup>68</sup> Maldonado plays on the medical/grammatical context by using 'simples,' which could both refer to verbs and to medicines concocted from only one ingredient.

<sup>69</sup> The use of 'compounds' here rounds out the word-play indicated in the previous note.

<sup>70</sup> Gluttony, quite logically, celebrates her birthday on Fat Tuesday.

705 *Paedor*

Telum non apparebat, sed illa prostrata iacebat.

*Pudor*

Viden', ut fatetur, nullum fuisse telum et illam iacuisse? Iacuit quidem, sed praeter vini supplantationem reminiscentia scelerum, visa  
710 ratione conscientiaeque stimulis agitata, corrui, veritate perspecta. Sentire deberes tu Ingluviesque tua, vos vobis nocere vestraque vobis crimina vestros tortores esse. Male quippe conscia sibi mens graves sentit cruciatus; nulli tamen debet imputare, cum ipsa sibi sit causa doloris. [55v]

715 *Paedor*

Miseram illam! Palpitabat moribunda, percussoresque sentiebantur, si non videbantur, et imputabitur ipsi, quod patiebatur immerito.

*Tempus*

De hodierna seditione sit satis. De regno quod iactat saeculorum multorum et possessione continua quid habes exploratum? Sed ante omnia  
720 dicas oportet quod primo fueras interrogandus, quot annos agis?

*Paedor*

Quid ais? Asini aguntur et muli, non anni.

*Filth*

No weapon could be seen, but she lay there, stretched out.<sup>71</sup>

*Shame*

Do you see how he admits that there was no weapon but that she lay flat? She did indeed lie flat, but, in addition to being befuddled by wine, it was from remembering her crimes, from having seen Light<sup>72</sup> and Truth and being pricked by goads of conscience, that she fell down. You and your Gluttony ought to realize that you do harm to yourselves and that your crimes are what cause you torture. Surely a guilty mind is aware of heavy pains. Yet it ought to blame them on no one, since it is the cause of pain to itself.

*Filth*

The poor woman! She was throbbing with pain and near death. Assassins could be sensed, even if they could not be seen. And will she herself be charged for something that she suffered without deserving it?

*Time*

Let that be enough about today's disturbance. Concerning the kingdom of many centuries' duration that she boasts about, and her continuous possession of it, what have you proved? But before anything else, you should answer the question that you should have been asked to begin with. How old are you?

*Filth*

What are you saying? Donkeys and mules are driven, not years.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Gluttony's unexplained fall, especially as described in this passage (after 'dancing') may well be an allusion to the description of the frenzied/unconscious falls which normally occurred in consequence of the wild dancing indulged in by the maenadic followers of Dionysus. See Dodds, *Bacchae*, Commentary, p. 87.

<sup>72</sup> Light is used synonymically for Reason, who, along with Truth, preceded Continence in the forum and would be the first encountered by Gluttony in her charge.

<sup>73</sup> Filth avails himself of the confusion possible in the idiomatic Latin use of 'to drive' for 'spending of time' and, thus, for telling age.



*Tempus*

- 725 Quando libet asinari, dum tu agis asinum, asinus te praecedat et cum interrogaris quot annos agas, intellige sciscitari quot anni te praecedant. Nam et agere asinum, etiam significat asinum referre et esse pecus Arcadicum.

*Paedor*

- 730 Perdat Deus grammaticos et eorum sophismata. Nam quod subterfugeram dicere, nominis mei tam turpis ipsi causa fuerunt, quod synonymum putavi, proptereaque non respui statim ut est inditum. Quis non crederet idem esse paedorem quod pudorem? Una litterula tantum valebit, ut virtutem vertat in vitium? Multos equidem annos credidi me bene  
735 nominatum, donec in Macello Romae grammaticus quidam Paedianus forte praeteriens vidit me nominatum libenter respondere: ri-[56r]-sitque maxime. Ego non intelligens causam, "Qui cachinnaris", inquam? "Non rideam", inquit, "qui te videam nomini turpissimo adlubescere?" "Hem", inquam, "non idem est quod pudor?" "Heu bone Deus" inquit,  
740 "disdiapason distant". Tum ego miser parum abfuit, quin ex aegritudine perirem.

*Tempus*

Tu quidem male sentis de grammaticis. Sed dic tandem annos.

*Paedor*

- 745 Annos quaeris? Saecula potius saeculorum: ante diluvium natus sum et post diluvium renatus.

*Time*

Since it pleases you to act like an ass, while you drive an ass an ass walks ahead of you. So that when you are asked how many years you 'drive,' you must understand that you are being asked how many years 'go ahead of you'. For to drive an ass also means 'to act like an ass' and to be a 'herd from Arcadia'.<sup>74</sup>

*Filth*

May God destroy the grammarians and their sophistries. For — something I was avoiding to mention — they were the reason for my very disgraceful name. I thought it was a synonym, and for that reason I did not reject it as it was given to me. Who would not believe that 'paedor,' [filth], was the same as 'pudor,' [shame]? Will one little letter have so much power that it can turn virtue into vice? For many years I certainly believed that I had been well named, until in the meat-market at Rome a certain grammarian named Paedianus,<sup>75</sup> by chance walking past, saw that when I had been named I answered freely, [56r] and he laughed loudly. I, not understanding the reason, said "Why are you laughing?" "Why shouldn't I laugh," he said, "when I see you take pleasure in such a shameful name?" "Huh!," I answered. "Isn't it the same as 'pudor,' [shame]?" "Oh, good God!," he cried, "it is different by a double octave!"<sup>76</sup> Poor me! Then I came close to dying of sickness.

*Time*

You certainly have a bad opinion of grammarians. But, finally, tell me your age.

*Filth*

You want to know my age? You should speak, rather, of ages upon ages. I was born before the Flood and born again after the Flood.

<sup>74</sup> Arcadia was supposed to contain herds of donkeys, and its inhabitants were reputed to be asinine. See Varro, *De Re Rustica*, 2, 1, 14.

<sup>75</sup> The name Paedianus is itself reflective of his profession, educator.

<sup>76</sup> The musical reference is appropriate because of the phonetic phenomenon being discussed.

*Tempus*

Annorum tibi satis. Vidistine regnantem semper Ingluviam saeculis prioribus?

750 *Paedor*

Vidi quidem; nam et in nuptiis Hippodamiae reges et multi principes illi parebant, ut taceam cenam Thyestis et bellum Troianum in quo valuit plurimum. Philosophos etiam atque poetas fidos habuit plurimos, quorum grandiloquentia civitates et regna continuit in officio.

755 *Pudor*

Ita perfricta fronte audes dicere regnasse, cum tyrannidem exercuerit ad tempus, et, cognito damno, iugum eius excusserint, et in libertatem se vindicaverint bene sani et quos impietas non reddiderat insanabiles? Nam de Christianis improbe mentita est Ingluvies, eorum sibi vindicans  
760 studia.

*Paedor*

[56v] An tu negabis pluris fieri cocos selectos apud Christianos quam apud ethnicos et Turcas, esseque maiores culinarum apparatus et instrumenta?

765 *Pudor*

Sunt quidem splendida Christianis quae memoras, et concinnandi cibos peritia inter liberales artes censetur; non tamen ea gulae causa tantum adhibetur, quantum ad ostentationem iactatur. Nam multi sunt in ea re diligentes et solliciti, quo vitent avaritiae suspicionem et cognatorum  
770 amicorumque obsequantur studiis. Soli tamen cum sunt, respuunt lautitias modestiaeque serviunt.

*Time*

You are old enough. Did you behold Gluttony always reigning in previous centuries?

*Filth*

I did indeed. For even at the wedding of Hippodamia,<sup>77</sup> kings and many princes obeyed her, not to mention the banquet of Thyestes,<sup>78</sup> and the Trojan War, in which she had much power.<sup>79</sup> She also had very many faithful philosophers and poets, whose grandiloquence sustained cities and kingdoms.

*Shame*

Do you brazenly dare to say that she reigned, when she held sway only for a time? And when they recognized their loss, being in their right minds, they shook off her yoke and went over to the side of liberty, at least those whom impiety had not rendered incurable. For Gluttony told a wicked lie about Christians, claiming their interests for herself.

*Filth*

[56v] Will you deny, then, that master cooks are held in higher esteem among the Christians than among the heathens and the Turks? And they have more elaborate equipment and cookware?

*Shame*

The Christians do, indeed, have those elaborations that you mention, and skill in preparing foods is counted among the liberal arts. But that skill is not used so much for the sake of gluttony, as it is flaunted for boasting. For many are anxious and careful in this art to avoid any suspicion of avarice and only humor the interests of their relatives and friends. But when they are all alone, they reject extravagance and are servants of modesty.

<sup>77</sup> The reference is to the wedding of Hippodamia and Pirithous, Hercules' great friend, at which the Centaurs, wishing to rape the women, occasioned a great battle with the Lapiths.

<sup>78</sup> The reference is to the banquet in which Atreus tricked Thyestes into eating his own children.

<sup>79</sup> The Trojan War was instigated, of course, to recover Menelaus' adulterous wife.

*Paedor*

Nescio quid dicas; omnes aberramus et alii in alios culpam conferimus. Scio nullam esse domum per orbem, in qua non Ingluvies excipiat  
 775 tur benigne osculoque libato ceu domina suscipiatur. Sed tamen ut vere  
 dicam quod sentio: percurri semper terras omnes et nunc quotannis  
 saepe recurro; testor tamen tuum meumque caput, iudex, quod terrarum  
 ubivis, et in Europa maxime, quam iactat Continentia suam, semper  
 ostendisse mensas dapibus refertas et cibis exquisitissimis variatas, nisi  
 780 sicubi deerant forte pecuniae. Vide quid possit Ingluvies et quam late  
 pateat eius imperium. [57r]

*Pudor*

Nondum perorasti, mane parumper. Iube illum, iudex, causam cessationis expromere, si vis penitus nosse.

785 *Tempus*

Iubeo ac impero.

*Paedor*

Non equidem erubescam; humanum est et fieri solet; nausea sum  
 repente correptus tantumque farciminis evomui, ut paene simul animam  
 790 expuerim.

*Pudor*

Nondum satisfacis: profundior est causa.

*Paedor*

Molestus es in re nihili. Corripueram peracto prandio nimis avide frustum  
 795 porcinum semicrudum et in barathrum recondideram; cumque pararem  
 postea testimonium dicere, illa mole cocta caro porcina minusque  
 mansa, repente sua cruditate perturbat omnia viscera; et tamquam sul-

*Filth*

I don't know what you are saying. We are all committing faults, and each of us places blame on the other. I know that there is no home throughout the world in which Gluttony is not kindly received, given a kiss, and taken in as mistress. But if I may truly tell you what I feel, I have always traveled through every land, and now, every year, I return again. I swear by your head and mine, judge, that everywhere on earth, and especially in Europe, which Continen<sup>ce</sup> boasts of as her own, tables are crowded for feast, varied with the most exquisite foods, unless it is a place where money is lacking. Note what power Gluttony has and how widely her empire extends.

*Shame* [57r]

You have not yet finished your testimony. Wait a moment. Order him, judge, to state the reason for the pause in the trial, if you want to know everything.<sup>80</sup>

*Time*

I order and command it.

*Filth*

I won't be ashamed. It is human and often happens. I was suddenly seized with nausea and threw up so much sausage that I almost vomited out my soul.

*Shame*

That is not good enough. The reason is deeper.

*Filth*

You are causing trouble over a thing of no importance. After lunch was over I too eagerly snatched up some half-cooked pork and jammed it down into my gullet. Afterward, when I was getting ready to give my testimony, that pork, cooked in a lump and poorly digested, suddenly, by its rawness, upset all my

<sup>80</sup> The reference is to the interruption of the giving of testimony alluded to earlier, but that does not form part of the recorded trial.

phureus pulvis succensus, quaeritans viam ad erumpendum, ni duplicem invenisset, rupto ventriculo disectisque visceribus ego perissem.

800 *Tempus*

Satis est. Digna est Ingluvies sua reste. Novi quid tu sentias, et quid me velis sentire. Personam retines nutricis tuae et a maioribus et patre non degeneras. Sententia crastina die medio foro pronunciabitur, ut qui pugnae interfuerunt, aequum esse iudicium intelligant. Ingluvies damna-  
805 bitur et Continentia absolvetur dignaque iudicabitur, quam [57v] omnes suspiciant et complectantur. Ite felices et plaudite Temporique vos iudicandos permittite. FINIS

insides. Like a pile of ignited sulphur, it sought a path to burst out. If it had not found a double path, either my stomach would have burst or my intestines would have been torn apart, and I would have died.

*Time*

That is enough. Gluttony deserves her punishment. I know what you feel and what you want me to feel. You retain the character of your nurse, and you are no worse than your ancestors or your father. Sentence will be pronounced tomorrow in the center of the forum, in such a way that those who were present at the fight will perceive that the judgment is just. Gluttony will be condemned and Continnence will be set free and judged worthy of [57v] being taken up and embraced by all. Go happily and applaud, and allow yourselves to be judged by Time.



## CENTONENDICHTUNG ALS HABSBURG-PANEGYRIK

Die negative Einschätzung von "Flickgedichten" ist im Laufe der letzten hundert Jahre allmählich einer interessierten Zuwendung gewichen. Lautete im Jahre 1899 das Resümee des entsprechenden Artikels in *Paulys Realencyclopädie*: 'Sicher ist es auch, dass nur die parodistischen C. einigermaßen geniessbar sind'<sup>1</sup>, so wird 1997 im *Neuen Pauly* mit Blick auf die christlichen Centonen der Spätantike festgestellt:

Die weit verbreitete Geringschätzung der C.-Poesie macht hier zunehmend einer Neubewertung Platz. So wird der älteste und bedeutendste C. [...], der der vornehmen Römerin Faltonia Betitia Proba [...] als Minimalform einer autonomen christl. Poesie verstanden.<sup>2</sup>

Diese beiden Zitate zeugen auch von einem historischen Unterschied in der Bewertung der beiden Spielarten von Centonen, einem Gegensatz, der in einer Analyse der Bedeutung des intertextuellen Phänomens "Cento" so erläutert wird:

mit dem als "Cento" bezeichneten Zitatverfahren [sind] zwei miteinander unverträgliche Funktionen zu realisieren [...]: einmal Normbildung oder Normbestätigung [...]; zum andern aber auch Normverletzung durch Komisierung und Automatisierung der als einmalig eingeschätzten Vorlagen. Dabei entspricht der Funktionsunterschied genau der für die Unterscheidung zwischen "Parodie" und "Kontrafaktur" relevanten funktionalen Differenz. Insofern scheint es uns vernünftig zu sein, den Cento als jeweiligen Spezialfall dieser beiden Schreibweisen zu bestimmen. Die beiden Möglichkeiten des Centos sind freilich nicht zur gleichen Zeit in gleicher Häufigkeit zu beobachten. Die Entwicklung geht vielmehr eindeutig [...] vom Zitat [...] zur Parodie.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Otto Crusius, 'Cento', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart-München, 1893-1972), III, 2 (1899), 1929-1932 (S. 1932).

<sup>2</sup> Hans Armin Gärtner — Wolf-Lüder Liebermann, 'Cento', in *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart-Weimar, 1996- ), II (1997), 1061-1064 (S. 1063). Vgl. jetzt auch Christoph Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius. Studien und Texte zur Centodichtung der italienischen Renaissance*, *Romanica et Comparatistica*, 26 (Tübingen, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Theodor Verwey — Gunther Witting, 'Der Cento. Eine Form der Intertextualität von der Zitatmontage zur Parodie', *Euphorion*, 87 (1993), 1-27 (S. 21). Zuvor erschien

In ihrer Bestimmung des Begriffes "Kontrafaktur" betonen dieselben Autoren die Vorteile der Bedeutungserweiterung des Ausdrucks gegenüber der

tradierte[n] Auffassung der Kontrafaktur als Umdichtung eines weltlichen in ein religiöses Lied [...] Einer dieser Vorzüge besteht zweifellos darin, ein erheblich umfänglicheres Korpus insbesondere historischer, aber auch noch neuerer Texte beschreiben zu können.<sup>4</sup>

Wenn man diese Erkenntnisse auf die analogen Erscheinungsformen des Centos überträgt, gewinnt dadurch auch eine Analyse des ernstgemeinten, aber weltlichen Centos, wie die folgende Interpretation zweier panegyrischer Vergilcentonen zeigen soll.

Es handelt sich dabei um die Einleitungsgedichte zu zwei je zehn Centonen umfassenden Gedichtserien auf die Habsburgerkaiser von Rudolf I. bis Rudolf II.:<sup>5</sup>

HENRICUS MEIBOMIUS

Ad invictissimos pervetustae familiae Austriacae Caesares  
Augustos, Roman[orum] Imperatores.<sup>6</sup>

Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis,<sup>7</sup>  
Flos veterum virtusque virum,<sup>8</sup> quos aequus amavit  
Iupiter atque ardens evexit ad aethera virtus:<sup>9</sup>  
Sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro<sup>10</sup>  
5. Fortia facta patrum,<sup>11</sup> magnum et memorabile nomen<sup>12</sup>  
Pandere, quoque modo<sup>13</sup> divum pater atque hominum rex<sup>14</sup>

eine kürzere englische Fassung dieses Aufsatzes: 'The Cento. A Form of Intertextuality from Montage to Parody', in H. F. Plett (ed.), *Intertextuality*, Research in Text Theory/Untersuchungen zur Texttheorie, 15 (Berlin-New York, 1991), Ss. 165-178.

<sup>4</sup> Theodor Verwey — Gunther Witting, *Die Kontrafaktur. Vorlage und Verarbeitung in Literatur, bildender Kunst, Werbung und politischem Plakat*, Konstanzer Bibliothek, 6 (Konstanz, 1987), S. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Diese Arbeit entstand im Rahmen eines vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung finanzierten Forschungsprojekts am Institut für Klassische Philologie der Universität Wien. Siehe dazu: Franz Römer — Elisabeth Klecker, "Poetische Habsburg-Panegyrik in lateinischer Sprache". Bestände der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek als Grundlage eines Forschungsprojekts', *Biblos*, 43 (1994), 183-198.

<sup>6</sup> Die Gedichtüberschrift lautet in der zweiten Auflage von 1597: *Ad invictissimos familiae Austriacae Caesares Augustos*.

<sup>7</sup> 6, 649 (Reine Zahlenangabe = *Aeneis*, *georg.* = *Georgica*, *ecl.* = *Eclogae*).

<sup>8</sup> 8, 500.

<sup>9</sup> 6, 129-30.

<sup>10</sup> 6, 266.

<sup>11</sup> 1, 641.

<sup>12</sup> 4, 94.

<sup>13</sup> *Georg.*, 4, 284.

<sup>14</sup> 1, 65; 2, 648; 10, 2; 10, 743.

- Illustres animas,<sup>15</sup> genus intractabile bello,<sup>16</sup>  
 Extulerit,<sup>17</sup> tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat<sup>18</sup>  
 Inter opima virum<sup>19</sup> fluvio Tiberinus amoeno.<sup>20</sup>  
 10. Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto:<sup>21</sup>  
 Nec mihi fas,<sup>22</sup> sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.<sup>23</sup>  
 Bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem<sup>24</sup>  
 Praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.<sup>25</sup>

Großmütige Helden, geboren in besseren Jahren, Blüte und Kraft von Männern der Vorzeit, die der gerechte Jupiter liebte und die die leuchtende Tugend zum Äther emporführte:

Es sei mir erlaubt zu berichten, was ich gehört habe, mit eurem Willen zu offenbaren die Heldentaten der Vorfahren, einen großen denkwürdigen Namen [5], und auf welche Weise der Vater der Götter und der König der Menschen die strahlenden Seelen, ein Geschlecht, das durch Krieg nicht zu bezwingen ist, emporgehoben hat, dort, wo in langsamen Windungen der gewaltige Tiber an Helden reiche Gebiete mit lieblichem Gewoge durchfließt.

Nicht alles wünsche ich in meinen Versen zu umfassen: [10]

nicht ist es mir gestattet, doch das Wichtigste will ich erwähnen. Die Kriege, deren Kunde schon über die ganze Welt verbreitet ist, übergehe ich und überlasse sie anderen Erzählern nach mir.

IOHANNES CZERNOVICENUS

Ad invictissimos pervetustae familiae Austriacae Caesares  
 Augustiss[imos] Romanorum Imperatores.

Accipite haec animis,<sup>26</sup> hic inter flumina nota  
 Et fontes sacros,<sup>27</sup> quae sunt mihi condita versu<sup>28</sup>  
 Purpurei cristis iuvenes,<sup>29</sup> ostroque decori,<sup>30</sup>  
 Et manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>15</sup> 6, 758.

<sup>16</sup> 1, 339.

<sup>17</sup> 4, 119.

<sup>18</sup> *Georg.*, 3, 14.

<sup>19</sup> 2, 782.

<sup>20</sup> 7, 30; 8, 31.

<sup>21</sup> *Georg.*, 2, 42.

<sup>22</sup> 9, 208; 11, 181 (nec fas).

<sup>23</sup> 1, 342.

<sup>24</sup> 1, 457.

<sup>25</sup> *Georg.*, 4, 148.

<sup>26</sup> 5, 304.

<sup>27</sup> *Ecl.*, 1, 51-52.

<sup>28</sup> *Ecl.*, 10, 50.

<sup>29</sup> 9, 163.

<sup>30</sup> 5, 133.

<sup>31</sup> 6, 660 (hic manus ob patriam...); 7, 182 (Martiaque ob patriam...).

5. Egregii forma,<sup>32</sup> quorumque a stirpe nepotes<sup>33</sup>  
 Alta tenent,<sup>34</sup> decorisque sui sociumque salutis<sup>35</sup>  
 Custodes,<sup>36</sup> gravidam imperiis belloque frementem<sup>37</sup>  
 Ingentem<sup>38</sup> Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittunt.<sup>39</sup>

Hört alle her, hier zwischen bekannten Flüssen und heiligen Quellen,  
 was ich in Verse fasste:

Männer in rotem Helmbusch, prangend in Purpur und die Scharen  
 derer, die sich im Kampf um das Vaterland Wunden schlagen ließen,  
 von herrlicher Gestalt, die Nachfahren ihres Stamms [5] halten die  
 Höhen, Wächter der eigenen Würde und des Wohls der Gefährten, das  
 gewaltige Hesperien, ein von Macht erfülltes, von Krieg widerhallen-  
 des Land, zwingen sie vollends unter ihr Joch.

Der Erste der beiden unter Kaiser Rudolf II. wirkenden Dichter, Heinrich Meibom der Ältere<sup>40</sup>, wurde als Sohn des Lehrers und evangelischen Predigers Martin Meibom am 4. Dezember 1555 in Lemgo oder Alverdisen/Lippe geboren. Er wurde 1580 Magister der Philosophie an der Universität Helmstedt und 1583 ebendort Professor der Dichtkunst und der Geschichte. Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig betraute

<sup>32</sup> 10, 435.

<sup>33</sup> 7, 99.

<sup>34</sup> 9, 169.

<sup>35</sup> 5, 174.

<sup>36</sup> 2, 492; 2, 762; 5, 257.

<sup>37</sup> 4, 229.

<sup>38</sup> 5, 658; 6, 413; 8, 367; 11, 5, 37, 641 u.ö.

<sup>39</sup> 8, 148 (mittant).

<sup>40</sup> Siehe Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750-1751), 3 (1751), 358-359; Johann Christoph Adelung — Heinrich Wilhelm Rotermund — Otto Günther, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu C. G. Jöchers Allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig-Delmenhorst-Bremen, 1784-1897), 4 (1813), 1197-99; v. Meibom, 'Meibom: Heinrich M. (Meibaum, Meybaum)', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912), 21 (1885), 187; Otto Herding, 'Heinrich Meibom (1555-1625) und Reiner Reineccius (1541-1595). Eine Studie zur Historiographie in Westfalen und Niedersachsen', *Westfälische Forschungen*, 18 (1965), 5-22; Antonín Truhlář — Karel Hrdina e. a., *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století* (= *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*), (Praha, 1966-82), 3 (1969), 304; Karl-Heinz Weimann, 'Der Nachlaß Meibom in Hannover und Göttingen', in H.-H. Eulner e. a. (edd.), *Medizingeschichte in unserer Zeit. Festgabe für Edith Heischkel-Artelt und Walter Artelt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1971), 171-188; Ingrid Henze, *Der Lehrstuhl für Poesie an der Universität Helmstedt bis zum Tode Heinrich Meiboms d. Ä. (†1625). Eine Untersuchung zur Rezeption antiker Dichtung im lutherischen Späthumanismus*, Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 9 (Hildesheim, 1990); Peter Johanek, 'Meibom (Maybaum, Meibomius), (ev.). 1) Heinrich (d.Ä.)', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1953- ), 16 (1990), 629-631; *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, W. Killy — R. Vierhaus (edd.), (München e.a., 1995- ), 7 (1998), 28.

ihn mit diplomatischen Missionen, auch an den Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. Von diesem wurde er 1590 in Prag zum "Poeta laureatus" gekrönt. Neben seiner dichterischen Tätigkeit trat er vor allem als Quelleneditor hervor. Er starb am 20. September 1625 in Helmstedt.

Meibom dichtete nicht nur selbst Centonen, er edierte im Jahre 1597 die Centonen des Ausonius, der Proba und der beiden Capilupi aus Mantua, des Lelio (1497-1560) und seines Neffen Giulio (ca. 1544-vor 1600),<sup>41</sup> gemeinsam mit seinen eigenen, die zuvor schon 1589 erschienen waren.<sup>42</sup> Damit vereinigt Meibom die berühmtesten antiken mit den auch heute noch vorzugsweise zitierten neuzeitlichen Verfassern von Vergilcentonen.<sup>43</sup> Vorangestellt sind dem Werk antike und zeitgenössische Theorien der Centonendichtung. Meibom war dabei von der Centonenedition des Henricus Stephanus beeinflusst,<sup>44</sup> erstellte aber den Text aufgrund eines kritischen Vergleichs mehrerer Ausgaben, wie seine Anmerkungen zum Probacento zeigen.<sup>45</sup> Er führt außerdem in Randnoten

<sup>41</sup> Tiziano Ascari, 'Capilupi, Giulio' und Claudio Mutini, 'Capilupi, Lelio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960-), 18 (1975), 535-536 und 542-543; Mantova. *Le Lettere*, E. Faccioli (ed.) (Mantova, 1959-1963), I (1959), 99-109 und II (1962), 425-428; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi and the "Centones ex Virgilio"', *The Library*, 16 (1994), 208-218; G. Hugo Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil": Du Bellay, Montaigne and the Curious Fortune of Lelio Capilupi's *Centones ex Virgilio* [Romae, 1555]', in G. Tournoy — D. Sacré (edd.), *Ut granum sinapis. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 12 (Leuven, 1997), Ss. 264-291.

<sup>42</sup> *Imperatorum ac Caesarum Romanorum ex familia Austriaca oriundorum descriptiones breves et succinctae Vergiliano carmine contextae auctore Henrico Meibomio Lemgovienensi, acad. Iuliae professore* (Helmaestadii, excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1589); *Virgilio-Centones auctorum notae optimaе, antiquorum et recentium Probae Falconiae Hortinae, D. Magni Ausonii Burdigal., Laelii Capilupi Mantuani, Iulii Capilupi Mantuani [...] recogniti et notis illustrati opera et studio Henrici Meibonii Westphali. Accesserunt eiusdem Meibonii Centones aliquot uno libro comprehensi* (Helmaestadii, excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1597).

<sup>43</sup> Z. B. bei Reinhart Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike. Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung*, I, Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste, 37 (München, 1975), 10; Verwey — Witting, 'Der Cento' (Anm. 3), 14-16. Wichtig für die Rezeptionsgeschichte der Centonen ist die Zusammenstellung von Octave Delepiere, *Tableau de la littérature du centon, chez les anciens et chez les modernes*, 2 Bde (London, 1874-75), wo den Capilupi breiter Raum gewidmet ist und auch einige Centonen Meiboms aufgenommen sind.

<sup>44</sup> *Parodias morales H. Stephani, [...] Centonum veterum et parodiarum utriusque linguae exempla* (s.l., excudebat Henricus Stephanus, 1575). Meibom zitiert Stephanus mehrmals (*Virgilio-Centones*, ff. A2r, E3v, E4v, G1v).

<sup>45</sup> *Virgilio-Centones*, f. E3. Insofern kann man wohl nicht von "plagiatähnlicher Benutzung" (Henze (Anm. 40), 120 und 131) dieses Buches durch Meibom sprechen. Außerdem ist in der genannten Ausgabe des Stephanus nur der Cento des Lelio Capilupi vollständig abgedruckt, die Centonen des Ausonius und der Proba werden nur ausschnittsweise zitiert und kommentiert.

sämtliche Vergilzitate an (nach Büchern bei *Aeneis* und *Georgica*, nach Gedichten bei den Eklogen).

Eine versteckte "Wiederverwertung" von Meiboms Kaisercentonen findet sich in einer Leopold I. gewidmeten Gedichtserie des Dominicus Kalynus,<sup>46</sup> der Meiboms Centonen bis Maximilian II. übernimmt, die ersten drei Verse des hier besprochenen Einleitungsgedichts durch zwei eigene ersetzt, am Ende acht Verse ergänzt (wohl um die Identifikation zu erschweren) und ab Rudolf II. seine eigenen Gedichte (nicht in Centonenform) anfügt.<sup>47</sup>

Einen unmittelbaren Nachfolger als Centonendichter fand Meibom in Johannes Czernovicenus.<sup>48</sup> Geboren im Jahre 1569 in Černovice bei Tábor, studierte er in Prag, wirkte eine Zeitlang als Lehrer und wurde 1596 Bürger der Prager Altstadt, wo er Ratsmitglied bis 1620 war. Nach der Zwangskatholisierung Böhmens 1627 ging er als überzeugter Protestant ins Exil nach Pirna (Sachsen), wo er am 23. September 1633 starb. Den Adelstitel "a Lybeo Monte (z Libé hory)", der ihm vom Kaiser 1612 bestätigt wurde, vererbte er 1630 an seinen Freund Václav Clemens.<sup>49</sup>

1605 erschien seine Centonensammlung,<sup>50</sup> in der auch ein Meibom gewidmetes Gedicht enthalten ist.

<sup>46</sup> *Corona Austriacorum Caesarum, nec non Ungariae, Boemiaeque Regum elogia. Annexo panegyrico, et luctu Austriae, ob tristissimum obitum Divi Ferdinandi Tertii [...] dicata a Dominico Kalyno ex comitatu Goritiensi*, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. Pal. 10210. Zum Autor vgl. Fr. Stelè, 'Kalin (Calin, Kalynus), Dominik Franz', in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, begr. v. U. Thieme u. F. Becker (Leipzig, 1907-1950), 19 (1926), 467.

<sup>47</sup> Ein ähnlicher Fall ist offenbar der anonyme Nachdruck der Centonenausgabe Meiboms, auf den Henze (Anm. 40), 131 und 211 verweist: *Virgilio-Centones Probae Falconiae Hortinae, Laelii/ Julii Capiluporum et aliorum quorundam recogniti et purgati... sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri* (Köln 1601). Das Werk konnte vom Verfasser nicht eingesehen werden.

<sup>48</sup> Eigentlich Jan Černovický (auch: Černovský, Czernovicus, Sequenides, Sekmenides). Siehe Franz Martin Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler*, (Prag, 1773-1782), 3 (1777), 100-104; Antonín Rybička, 'Černovický Jan', in František Ladislav Rieger, *Slovník naučný* (V Praze, 1860-1890), 2, 1 (1862), 514; Antonín Truhlář, 'Černovický: 1) Č. Jan', in *Ottův slovník naučný. Ilustrovaná encyklopaedie obecných vědomostí* (V Praze, 1888-1909), VI (1893), 633; Truhlář — Hrdina e.a., (Anm. 40) II (1966), 13-18.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. dazu auch: Truhlář — Hrdina e.a., (Anm. 40) I (1966), 370; Jerzy Starnawski — Jozef IJsewijn, 'Clemens Venceslaus Zebracenus a Lybeo Monte, Lechiados libri IV (ca 1632-35). An Unedited Poem on the Accession to the Throne of Ladislaus IV of Poland', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 21 (1972), 341-384 (S. 282).

<sup>50</sup> *Decas augustissimorum ex amplissima florentissimaque Archiducum Austriae familia Imperatorum breviter Virgiliano carmine contexta. Una cum descriptione domus*

## 1. Meiboms Kaisercento

In den ersten drei Versen des Einleitungscentos zur Gedichtserie auf die Habsburgerkaiser apostrophiert Meibom seine Adressaten als Götterlieblinge und betont ihre Virtus. Im Mittelteil des Gedichts nennt der Dichter sein Thema, er möchte die Taten der berühmten Ahnen und ihren gottgewollten Aufstieg im Römischen Reich darstellen. In den vier Schlussversen bestimmt der Dichter angesichts der Größe seiner Aufgabe und der Bekanntheit des Stoffes seinen bescheidenen Platz.

Wie es vom Einleitungsgedicht einer Habsburger Kaiserserie zu erwarten ist, werden auf programmatische Weise die Leitmotive angerissen. Ein Zitat aus dem sechsten Aeneisbuch<sup>51</sup> zeigt schon im ersten Vers die Wichtigkeit der genealogischen Perspektive auf: Die Heroen, die Aeneas in Begleitung der Sibylle auf seinem Gang durch die Unterwelt in den elysischen Gefilden sieht<sup>52</sup>, sind seine trojanischen Ahnen (und damit auch die der Habsburger).<sup>53</sup>

In dieselbe Richtung weist der folgende Halbvers aus der von Euander im achten Aeneisbuch zitierten Rede des Haruspex<sup>54</sup>, der den Etruskern bedeutet, nur unter einem nichtitalischen Heerführer würden sie den Krieg gegen ihren vertriebenen König Mezentius und die mit ihm verbündeten Rutuler gewinnen können. Euander macht mit seiner Rede plausibel, warum Aeneas als Heerführer der Etrusker prädestiniert ist: Er ist nicht nur kein Italer, sondern ihn verbindet mit den Etruskern, die aus Maeonien stammen<sup>55</sup>, die gemeinsame kleinasiatische Herkunft.

*Rosenbergicae nec non aliis quibusdam ad amicos scriptis auctore Iohanne Czernoviceno cive antiquae u[r]bis P[ragae]*, (Pragae, Typis Schumanianis, 1605).

<sup>51</sup> Das sechste und das erste Buch klingen in diesem Gedicht mit je vier Zitaten am häufigsten an.

<sup>52</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 649 (magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis).

<sup>53</sup> Die Theorie der Abstammung der Habsburger von den Trojanern (über die Franken) war weit verbreitet. Vgl. Simon Laschitzer, 'Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I.', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 7 (1888), 1-200; Anna Coreth, 'Dynastisch-politische Ideen Kaiser Maximilians I.', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 3 (1950), 81-105; Alphons Lhotsky, 'Apis Colonna. Fabeln und Theorien über die Abkunft der Habsburger. Ein Exkurs zur Cronica Austriae des Thomas Ebendorfer', in A. L., *Das Haus Habsburg*, Aufsätze und Vorträge, II (Wien 1971), Ss. 7-102; H. Homeyer, 'Beobachtungen zum Weiterleben [sic] der trojanischen Abstammungs- und Gründungssagen im Mittelalter', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 5 (1982), 93-123; Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas. The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven-London, 1993).

<sup>54</sup> *Aen.*, 8, 500 (flos veterum virtusque virum).

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. *Aen.*, 8, 499.

Analog dazu sind natürlich auch die Habsburger zur Herrschaft in Italien vorherbestimmt: Wenn es dem Nichtitalier Aeneas vorbehalten ist, die Rutuler zu besiegen und die Grundlage für das Römische Reich zu legen, so können die Habsburger als Nachfahren der Trojaner für die römische Kaiserwürde besondere Autorität beanspruchen.

Der genannte Halbvers eröffnet zugleich eine zweite Bezugsebene neben der primären, dem Werk Vergils. Diese sekundäre Ebene ist der *Cento Nuptialis* des Ausonius, der sich in seiner *Praefatio* wie Meibom an römische Kaiser wendet, an Valentinian I. und seinen Sohn Gratian. In dieser *Praefatio*, die somit, anders als der eigentliche *Cento Nuptialis*, nicht nur eine formale, sondern auch eine inhaltliche Parallele zum *Cento* an die römischen Kaiser aus dem Haus Habsburg darstellt, dient der genannte Halbvers der Charakteristik des Gratian.<sup>56</sup> Es ist wohl auch keine zufällige Übereinstimmung, dass die Adressaten des Ausonius mit ihrer Residenz in Trier das Zentrum ihrer Herrschaft (als römische Kaiser!) wie die Habsburger auf germanischem Gebiet hatten.

Diese für den heutigen Leser schwer nachvollziehbare poetische Technik hat ihre Grundlage in Meiboms Verständnis von *imitatio* als einzigem Qualitätskriterium für Dichtung.<sup>57</sup> Nicht zuletzt deshalb gibt Meibom in seinen Centonenausgaben die Herkunft jedes vergilischen Halbverses genau an. In seiner Ausgabe von 1597 erleichtert er so dem ohnedies vorgebildeten Leser seiner Zeit das Auffinden von Parallelen etwa zwischen dem *Cento* des Ausonius und seinen eigenen Centonen.<sup>58</sup> Bezeichnenderweise verwendet dann auch Czernovicensus den Vers aus der Haruspexrede am Beginn seines Centos auf Meibom:

Macte nova virtute, unum Trytonia Pallas  
 Quem docuit, multaue insignem reddidit arte.  
*Flos veterum, virtusque virum*, divine Poeta.  
 (Czernovicensus, Decas, f. K1r)

Das zweite Zitat aus dem sechsten Aeneisbuch<sup>59</sup> stellt die Angesprochenen als vom höchsten Gott geliebte und aufgrund ihrer Tugend zum

<sup>56</sup> Auson. 351, 8 p. 209 (und 356, 8 p.213) Peiper = 18, 8 (und 74) Green.

<sup>57</sup> Henze (Anm. 40), 103-105: Er soll (in angeheitertem Zustand) seinem Kollegen Salomon Frenzel vorgeworfen haben, dessen Dichtung taue nichts, weil man bei ihm keine Imitation sehen könne. Auch Herding (Anm. 40), 18 führt diese Anekdote als Beispiel für Meiboms Dichtungsnorm an.

<sup>58</sup> Zur Rezeption des *Cento nuptialis* in einem anderem Gedicht Meiboms siehe Henze (Anm. 40), 154-157.

<sup>59</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 129-30. (quos aequus amavit/ Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus): Vers 2-3.



Himmel erhobene Auserwählte dar. Im vergilischen Kontext werden hier wieder Heroen der Vorzeit evoziert, in deren Fußstapfen der neue Heros, nämlich Aeneas<sup>60</sup>, tritt: Die Sibylle erklärt ihm, nur wenige Göttersproßlinge hätten es geschafft, aus der Unterwelt wieder zurückzukehren, und weist ihm dann den Weg dazu.

Das dritte Zitat aus dem sechsten Buch stammt aus dem Proömium zur Katabasis<sup>61</sup> und leitet zur Themenangabe über: Taten und Ruhm der Besungenen werden mit zwei Halbversen aus dem ersten und vierten Buch angesprochen. Der Erste<sup>62</sup> bezieht sich auf die auf dem Geschirr der Dido in Gold dargestellten Taten ihrer Vorfahren, die (wie bei den Habsburgern) eine lange Ahnenreihe ergeben. Mit den Worten des zweiten Halbverses<sup>63</sup> wird von Juno in der *Aeneis* Venus und ihr Sohn Amor apostrophiert. Neben der allgemeinen Eignung für panegyrische Zwecke scheint ein Grund für die Kombination dieser beiden Halbverse in folgendem Sachverhalt zu liegen: Die zu Meiboms Halbversen komplementären Vershälften finden sich beide bei Ausonius. Der auf die Ahnenreihe Bezug nehmende Halbvers wird bei Ausonius in Zusammenhang mit der *Cena Nuptialis* verwendet<sup>64</sup>, die Anrede an Venus und ihren Sohn wird vom spätantiken Dichter auf die Kaiser Valentinian und Gratian umgemünzt<sup>65</sup>, somit ist dieser Vers kaiserpanegyrisch vorgeprägt.

Nach einem Zitat aus dem Beginn der Götterversammlung im zehnten Aeneisbuch<sup>66</sup> folgt in Vers 7 wieder eine Stelle aus dem sechsten Buch<sup>67</sup>, und zwar aus der Einleitung der Heldenschau. Anchises nennt das Thema seiner Rede: er wird seinem Sohn die Seelen der Enkel zeigen. Damit ist im Kreis der Zitate aus dem sechsten Aeneisbuch nach der Rede der Sibylle, dem Proömium zur Katabasis und der Vorstellung der trojanischen Ahnen im Elysium die letzte Station der Reise durch die Unterwelt erreicht: der Ausblick auf die italischen Nachfahren, zu denen

<sup>60</sup> Aeneas stellt sich mit seiner vorangehenden Rede selbst in die Reihe der Zeusabkömmlinge Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus und Herkules (*Aen.*, 6, 119 ff.).

<sup>61</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 266-67 (sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro/ pandere): Vers 4 und weitergeführt in Vers 6, ergänzt nach Georg. 4, 284 (pandere, quoque modo).

<sup>62</sup> *Aen.*, 1, 641 (fortia facta patrum).

<sup>63</sup> *Aen.*, 4, 94 (magnum et memorabile numen).

<sup>64</sup> Auson. 352, 6 p. 210 Peiper = 18, 17 Green = *Aen.*, 1, 641 (2. Vershälfte).

<sup>65</sup> Auson. 351, 7 p. 209 Peiper = 18, 7 Green = *Aen.*, 4, 94 (1. Vershälfte). Der bei Ausonius folgende Vers bringt das oben erwähnte Zitat aus der Haruspexrede.

<sup>66</sup> *Aen.*, 10, 2 (divum pater atque hominum rex). Meibom hat sicher vor allem diese Stelle im Auge gehabt und weniger die gleichlautenden *Aen.*, 1, 65; 2, 648; 10, 743.

<sup>67</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 758 (inlustris animas).

nicht nur die antiken römischen Kaiser, sondern auch deren Nachfolger, die Habsburger, zu zählen sind.

Mit der zweiten Hälfte von Vers 7 befindet man sich, vergilisch gesehen, im ersten Aeneisbuch in der Rede der Venus, die ihren Sohn über das einheimische libysche Volk aufklärt.<sup>68</sup> In leicht variiert Form wird der Halbvers später von Didos Schwester ebenfalls zur Charakterisierung der einheimischen Bevölkerung verwendet.<sup>69</sup> Ausonius verwendet den Halbvers aus der Rede der Anna in der *Praefatio* des *Cento Nuptialis*.<sup>70</sup> Meibom wertet also die Ähnlichkeit dieser beiden Aeneisstellen für einen besonderen Kunstgriff aus: Nach einem direkten Ausoniuszitat und einem indirekten über komplementäre Verhältnisse zeigt er hier eine weitere Möglichkeit, seinen spätantiken Vorgänger, nämlich über den Umweg eines verwandten Vergilhalbverses, mitklingen zu lassen.

Mit einem Zitat aus einer für Kaiserpanegyrik besonders geeigneten Stelle beginnt Meibom in Vers 8 die Beschreibung des Ortes der Erhebung<sup>71</sup> der angesprochenen Kaiser, Rom. Der Fluss mit seinen Windungen<sup>72</sup> ist bei Vergil der Ort, wo durch sein Gedicht für Augustus ein Tempel entstehen soll. Meibom stellt dann in Vers 9 klar, dass er vom Tiber spricht. Er tut dies mit zwei Halbversen, die neben den Stellen aus der Katabasis wohl den Höhepunkt seines Einleitungscentos bilden. Die erste Vershälfte ist aus der Rede genommen, in der das Schattenbild der Creusa dem Aeneas beim Abschied von Troia die Ankunft in Italien, wo der lydische Tiber fließt, prophezeit<sup>73</sup>. Die zweite Vershälfte bringt die Erfüllung dieser Prophezeiung. Aeneas erblickt zum ersten Mal das Land Latium und die Tibermündung.<sup>74</sup> Der Bogen vom alten Troia zum neuen Rom ist damit gezogen.

Das Einleitungsgedicht klingt in einem Präteritionstopos aus. Gerahmt werden die entsprechenden vier Verse von je einem Hexameter aus den *Georgica*. An den Ersten<sup>75</sup> schließt bei Vergil im Proömium des zweiten

<sup>68</sup> *Aen.*, 1, 339 (*genus intractabile bello*).

<sup>69</sup> *Aen.*, 4, 40 (*genus insuperabile bello*).

<sup>70</sup> Auson. 351, 3 p. 209 Peiper = 18, 3 Green.

<sup>71</sup> Extulerit (*Aen.*, 4, 119: vom Sonnenaufgang).

<sup>72</sup> *Georg.*, 3, 14 (*tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat*). Bei Vergil ist damit der Mincius gemeint.

<sup>73</sup> *Aen.*, 2, 782 (*inter opima virum*).

<sup>74</sup> *Aen.*, 7, 30 (*fluvio Tiberinus amoeno*). Zugleich verweist diese Stelle auf den gleichlautenden Halbvers *Aen.*, 8, 31, wo der Flussgott Tiberinus dem Aeneas erscheint und ihm Mut für die Gründung Roms macht.

<sup>75</sup> *Georg.*, 2, 42 (*non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto*).

Buches das berühmte Wort von den 100 Zungen und Mündern an, das hier wohl mitgehört werden soll.

Mit Vers 11<sup>76</sup> befindet man sich zum zweiten Mal in der Rede der Venus, mit der sie Aeneas einen Abriss der Lebensgeschichte der Dido gibt.

Ebenfalls aus dem ersten Aeneisbuch stammt Vers 12.<sup>77</sup> Es geht hier um die Darstellung des trojanischen Krieges auf dem Junotempel in Karthago. Der Vers ist in die Reihe der Zitate zu stellen, die auf die trojanisch-römische Vergangenheit und Zukunft Bezug nehmen. Außerdem scheinen die vier Stellen aus dem ersten Buch, die in diesem Gedicht vorkommen, paarweise aufeinander abgestimmt zu sein (zweimal Venusrede, zweimal Vorgeschichte: einmal die der Trojaner, einmal die der Karthager). Die Komplementarität der Darstellung trojanischer Geschichte auf dem Junotempel und der der tyrischen Vorfahren auf dem Goldgeschirr der Dido wird übrigens auch von Servius betont.<sup>78</sup>

Mit den Worten von Vers 12 überlässt Vergil die Darstellung des Gartenbaus seinen Nachfolgern.<sup>79</sup> Auf der primären vergilischen Ebene ist dieser Schlussvers aber nicht zufriedenstellend zu deuten. Es muss hier auch der Cento der Proba berücksichtigt werden. Der vergilische Präteritionstopos bildet ein wichtiges Strukturelement im Zentrum des Werks der Dichterin: Sie beendet den ersten Teil ihres Centos, der die Geschehnisse des Alten Testaments zum Thema hat, im vorletzten Vers wie Meibom mit einem Hinweis auf die Kriege, die nicht behandelt werden können, und schließt den Abschnitt mit dem genannten Hexameter aus dem vierten Georgicabuch.<sup>80</sup> Es folgt im zweiten Teil der Inhalt des Neuen Testaments. Und wohl nicht zufällig finden sich Vergilverse, die in der Darstellung der Geburt und Taufe Jesu Christi von Proba verwendet werden, ausgerechnet im folgenden Cento Meiboms auf den ersten Habsburgerkaiser Rudolf I.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Aen.*, 1, 342 (sed summa sequar fastigia rerum).

<sup>77</sup> *Aen.*, 1, 457 (bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem).

<sup>78</sup> Serv. *Aen.* 1, 641: [...] hic resolvit poeta illud quod reprehenditur, cur in templo Iunonis non Poenorum sed Troianorum et Graecorum facta depinxerit, [...].

<sup>79</sup> *Georg.*, 4, 148 (praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo).

<sup>80</sup> Proba cento 332. In der Ausgabe Meiboms ist der Übergang vom ersten zum zweiten Teil des Centos deutlich hervorgehoben: '*Finis Veteris Testamenti. Sequitur Novum.*' (Meibom, *Virgilio-Centones*, f. C1r).

<sup>81</sup> *Rudolphus Habsburgius*, 2-4: Proba cento 354-355, 405, 426. Darauf wird in einer Publikation, die als Ergebnis des genannten Forschungsprojekts geplant ist, eingegangen.

An einer Hochschule wie Helmstedt, deren Statuten der Theologie eine Vorrangstellung vor allen anderen Fakultäten einräumten und wo es Tendenzen gab, geistliche Dichtung (vor allem die der christlichen Spätantike) gegenüber der antiken heidnischen Dichtung aufzuwerten,<sup>82</sup> muss das Werk der Proba, das die Vereinbarkeit beider Richtungen zeigte, für einen Mann wie Meibom besonders attraktiv gewesen sein. Es passt aber auch zu der Herrschaftsideologie der Habsburger, dass nicht nur ihre trojanische Abstammung betont wird, sondern sie zugleich in den heilsgeschichtlichen Kontext der Bibel gestellt werden.<sup>83</sup>

## 2. Der Kaisercento bei Czernovicensus

Wie Meibom wendet sich auch Czernovicensus in dem der Kaiserserie vorangehenden Cento an die Kaiser des Hauses Habsburg insgesamt. Er bittet sie, seine Dichtung anzunehmen, und beschreibt sie im Schmuck ihrer Kleidung als Krieger im Dienste der Heimat, deren Nachfahren in ihrer hohen Stellung als Wächter ihres Ansehens und des Heils der ihnen Anvertrauten das vom Krieg erschütterte und herrschaftsschwangere Italien unterwerfen.

Mit dem ersten Halbvers des Gedichts aus der Rede des Aeneas, in der dieser die Siegespreise für den Wettlauf bei den Leichenspielen für seinen Vater nennt<sup>84</sup>, zeigt Czernovicensus, dass er Meiboms Verweis auf den *Cento Nuptialis* verstanden hat. Derselbe Vers, allerdings vollständig, steht auch am Beginn der *Praefatio*.<sup>85</sup> Auch Ausonius apostrophiert so seine kaiserlichen Adressaten.

In der Folge wird bukolische Stimmung evoziert. Eine Stelle aus der bekannten Rede des Meliboeus an Tityrus<sup>86</sup> in Vergils erster Ekloge wird mit einem Halbvers aus der Rede des Gallus<sup>87</sup> in der zehnten Ekloge kombiniert.

<sup>82</sup> Henze (Anm. 40), 5-13 u. 46-62.

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2. Aufl. (Wien, 1982); Elisabeth Kovacs, 'Die Apotheose des Hauses Österreich. Repräsentation und politischer Anspruch', und Friedrich B. Polleroß, 'Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger in der bildenden Kunst', in R. Feuchtmüller — E. Kovacs (edd.), *Welt des Barock* (Wien, 1986), Ss. 53-86 u. 87-104; Tanner (Anm. 53).

<sup>84</sup> *Aen.*, 5, 304 (accipite haec animis).

<sup>85</sup> Auson. 351, 1 p.209 Peiper = 18, 1 Green.

<sup>86</sup> *Ecl.*, 1, 51f. (hic inter flumina nota/ et fontis sacros).

<sup>87</sup> *Ecl.*, 10, 50 (quae sunt mihi condita versu).

Vers 3 verbindet eine Stelle aus dem neunten Aeneisbuch<sup>88</sup> — die Genannten sind die Rutuler, die sich zur Belagerung des trojanischen Schiffslagers aufmachen — mit dem zweiten Zitat dieses Centos aus dem fünften Buch<sup>89</sup>: die Geschmückten sind dort die Kommandanten der Schiffe, die das Wettrennen bestreiten.

Vers 4 greift in einem Vers, der auf zwei Aeneisstellen zugleich verweist, Gedanken auf, die schon Meibom anklingen ließ. Indem eine Gruppe von Seligen im Elysium vergegenwärtigt wird<sup>90</sup>, erinnert Czernovicienus an Meiboms Gedicht, das mit einer Stelle aus der vergilischen Schilderung des Elysiums, wo sich die trojanischen Ahnen befinden, beginnt. Vers 4 erinnert weiters zugleich an einen Vers aus dem siebten Aeneisbuch<sup>91</sup>, wo von den Bildern altitalischer Könige im Palast des Latinus die Rede ist. Die nichtitalischen Ahnen der römischen Herrscher, die von Meibom in den Vordergrund gestellt wurden, werden hier also durch die latinischen Vorfahren ergänzt. Die Verbindung der beiden Völker ist ja auch in der *Aeneis* die Grundlage der zukünftigen Herrschaft der Aeneaden, wie der Hintergrund des folgenden Verses unterstreicht:

Dem Blick in die Vergangenheit der Herrschaft in Italien wird in Vers 5 (nach einem Anklang an zwei herausragende Jünglinge der Zeit des Aeneas<sup>92</sup>) in der zweiten Vershälfte die Verheißung zukünftiger Größe entgegengestellt: Faunus prophezeit in seinem Orakel, aus dem diese Worte stammen, dem König Latinus die Weltherrschaft für seine Nachkommen<sup>93</sup>, wenn er seine Tochter einem Fremden vermähle. So verbindet Czernovicienus außerdem den genealogischen Aspekt mit dem Element der Prophezeiung, das ebenfalls bei Meibom eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

In Vers 6 sind noch einmal die zwei Bücher der *Aeneis* präsent, die (neben dem siebten Buch) in diesem Gedicht am häufigsten anklingen. Der erste Halbvers zeigt die Belagerung des Schiffslagers aus dem neunten Buch, diesmal aus trojanischer Perspektive.<sup>94</sup> Die zweite Vershälfte vergegenwärtigt das Schiffsrennen bei den Leichenspielen des Anchises aus dem fünften Buch.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Aen.*, 9, 163 (*purpurei cristis iuvenes*).

<sup>89</sup> *Aen.*, 5, 133 (*ostroque decori*).

<sup>90</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 660 (*hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*).

<sup>91</sup> *Aen.*, 7, 182 (*Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*).

<sup>92</sup> Pallas und Lausus (*Aen.*, 10, 435: *egregii forma*).

<sup>93</sup> *Aen.*, 7, 99 (*quorumque a stirpe nepotes*).

<sup>94</sup> *Aen.*, 9, 169 (*alta tenent*).

<sup>95</sup> *Aen.*, 5, 174 (*decorisque sui sociumque salutis*).

In den beiden Schlussversen wird das Motiv der Prophezeiung der künftigen Größe der Nachkommen des Aeneas weiter ausgestaltet. Der vorletzte Vers<sup>96</sup> ist der Rede Jupiters entnommen, mit der er Merkur auffordert, zu Aeneas nach Karthago zu gehen und ihm mitzuteilen, er solle sich von Dido losreißen und seine vom Schicksal bestimmte Mission, Italien zu unterwerfen und damit die Grundlage für die römische Welt-herrschaft zu legen, erfüllen. Der letzte Vers führt diesen Gedanken fort<sup>97</sup>: In einer Rede vor Euander beschwört Aeneas die Gefahr, die Rutuler könnten ganz Italien unterwerfen. In derselben Rede geht Aeneas auf die gemeinsame Abstammung der Trojaner und Arkader ein. Beide stammen letztlich von Atlas ab.<sup>98</sup> Der genealogische Aspekt klingt damit im Hintergrund noch einmal an. Indem Czernovicensus die in der *Aeneis* im Konjunktiv gehaltenen Verse in den Indikativ setzt und damit die tatsächliche Unterwerfung Italiens betont, werden die Habsburger zu Vollendern der Mission des Aeneas und nehmen in vergilischer Sicht die Rolle des Augustus neu ein.

### 3. Die Dichtung Vergils als Präfiguration der Habsburger-Herrschaft

Als Leitmotive lassen sich somit aus den Einleitungsgedichten der beiden Centoserien zwei immer wieder variierte Themen herausfiltern, das der Prophezeiung künftiger Größe der Nachkommen des Aeneas, erfüllt in den Habsburgern, und, damit eng verknüpft, der genealogische Aspekt. Während bei Meibom vor allem Stellen aus der ersten Aeneishälfte herangezogen werden (das erste, vierte und sechste Buch sind die entscheidenden Grundlagen), betont Czernovicensus mit Schlüsselstellen aus dem siebten und achten Buch die Vorgeschichte der Kämpfe in Latium etwas stärker. Kriegerische bzw. generell kämpferische Akzente werden von Czernovicensus auch durch die Zitate aus den Wettkämpfen bei den Leichenspielen des Anchises und dem

<sup>96</sup> *Aen.*, 4, 229 (*gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*), das erste Wort (*custodes: Aen.*, 2, 492 u. ö.) ist in diesem Zusammenhang irrelevant.

<sup>97</sup> *Aen.*, 8, 148 (*Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant*). Das erste Wort des Verses ist wieder zu beliebig, um für die Interpretation herangezogen werden zu können (*ingentem: Aen.*, 11, 5 u.ö.).

<sup>98</sup> Bei den Arkadern geht die Linie über Merkur, der, wie der vorangehende Vers gezeigt hat, aktiv in die Handlung im Sinne des *Fatum* eingreift. Die beiden letzten Verse sind also indirekt auch durch ihn verbunden. Mit seiner Erscheinung vor Aeneas in Karthago und mit seinem Nachkommen Pallas sind wichtige Angelpunkte der beiden Aeneishälften gegeben.

Kampf um das Schiffslager der Trojaner gesetzt. Die Kunst dieser Centonendichtung besteht also wesentlich darin, durch die Berücksichtigung der Kontexte, aus denen die Verse stammen, ein beziehungsreiches Hintergrundmuster für die Kaiserpanegyrik zu schaffen. Indem die Habsburger mit ihren Ahnen in das aus Vergilversen “zusammengeflochtene” Gewand des Aeneas und der trojanischen, aber auch der lateinischen Vorfahren des römischen Volkes treten, ziehen sie auch die Kleidung des Augustus und der römischen Kaiser an, wie vor allem die Zitate aus der Römerschau untermauern. Die Funktion dieser kaiserpanegyrischen Centonen unterscheidet sich also nicht nur von den parodistischen, sondern auch von den christlichen, sind sie doch faktisch eine Fortschreibung der *Aeneis* in die Gegenwart, indem sie die Kontinuität des Römischen Reiches und seiner Herrscher, wie sie in der *Aeneis* zwischen Aeneas und Augustus hergestellt wird, auf die Habsburger übertragen. Gerade die wörtliche Identität der Verse und Versteile wird so zur Legitimationsgrundlage der Identität von Herrschaft im Römischen Reich in Antike und Neuzeit. Der Cento ermöglicht eine “naturgetreue Abbildung” römischer Kaiser der Gegenwart nach ihrem antiken Vorbild, damit ähneln die Centonen den als “Kontrafaktur” bezeichneten Porträts und Kostümen von Kaisern und anderen Persönlichkeiten.<sup>99</sup>

Eine besondere Komplexität wird durch die Spiegelung einzelner Vergilverse und struktureller Bezüge in anderen Centonen erreicht: Meibom verweist auf die christliche Vergilkontrafaktur der Proba, Czernovicens’ Cento ist “Abbild” von Meiboms Werk. Der *Cento nuptialis* des Ausonius schließlich wird nicht als das rezipiert, was seine Berühmtheit ausmacht, nämlich als Parodie,<sup>100</sup> sondern, mit seiner an die römischen

<sup>99</sup> In den Formen “Conterfeit”, “Conterfey”, “controfatto” etc.: Verweyen — Witting, *Die Kontrafaktur* (Anm. 4), Ss. 11-21.

<sup>100</sup> Man wird mit Verweyen — Witting, ‘Der Cento’ (Anm. 3), 14 besser von einer satirischen Kontrafaktur sprechen, wendet sich die Komisierungs- und Herabsetzungsstrategie des Ausonius doch nicht gegen seine Vorlage Vergil, sondern gegen das Referenzobjekt Hochzeitsritual. Vgl. Verweyen — Witting, *Die Kontrafaktur* (Anm. 4), Ss. 103-115. Dies ließe sich an einigen Stellen zeigen, die Herzog (Anm. 43), 9 allerdings als Beispiele für Neutralisierung des ursprünglichen Kontextes bzw. Wegfall der vergilischen Ironie anführt: So werden die Hochzeitsgäste mit Versen beschrieben, die bei Vergil die um Eurydike trauernden Dryaden oder früh verstorbene Kinder charakterisieren (Auson. 356, 2 p. 213 Peiper = 18, 68 Green = *Georg.*, 4, 460 und 476 bzw. *Aen.*, 6, 307), und die Braut wird mit Worten begrüßt, die bei Vergil der Hirt Damon mit bitterer Ironie an seine Geliebte, die ihn verschmäht hat, richtet (Auson. 356, 4 p. 213 Peiper = 18, 70 Green = *ecl.*, 8, 32).

Kaiser gerichteten *Praefatio*, als kaiserpanegyrische Vergilkontrafaktur. Ausonius' Cento als Modell für neuzeitliche Herrscherpanegyrik — das ist einer der überraschenden Aspekte der Dichtung unter dem Habsburger Rudolf II.

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## TEOLOGÍA Y FILOLOGÍA: UNA PRECISIÓN SOBRE LA FÓRMULA *PUSILLUS GREX* EN BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

Para la historia del humanismo cristiano en España, el *Dictatum Christianum* de Benito Arias Montano tuvo un papel similar al del *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* de Erasmo. Ambos libros aspiraban a ser manuales devotos en busca de la sencillez de los principios cristianos y de la reducción del dogma a la piedad, a lo estrictamente necesario para guiar el comportamiento del hombre religioso en el mundo. Aunque el *Dictatum* fue publicado por Plantino en 1575, una primera versión de la obra, redactada probablemente en castellano, debía de estar escrita hacia finales de 1568, ya que a comienzos del año siguiente Montano pedía al secretario real Gabriel de Zayas que le devolviera su “instrucción cristiana”, en la que, según explicaba, sólo había pretendido declarar “cuán simple y claro es el oficio común de cristiano”<sup>1</sup>. En consecuencia con esa manifiesta voluntad de simplicidad y de aplicación de los preceptos evangélicos a la vida práctica del cristiano, Arias Montano dio como subtítulo a su obra [*Dictatum Christianum*] *sive communes et aptae discipulorum Christi omnium partes; ex magistri praeceptis et institutis ad pusilli gregis instructionem a condiscipulo Benedicto Aria Montano observatis et in brevem summam collatis*. A continuación, en la portada del libro aparecía una cita evangélica de considerable significación para los movimientos espiritualistas cristianos, “Contendite intrare per angustam portam” (Lc 13, 24). La interpretación de la fórmula *pusillus grex*, recogida en el título y cuyo significado nos proponemos estudiar, ha dado lugar a una interesante controversia crítica, que afecta tanto a la filología bíblica, como a sus consecuencias teológicas.

La aparición de los trabajos de Maurice Sabbe y Ben Rekers sobre Arias Montano supuso una renovación de los estudios montanianos, que afectó notablemente a la imagen de ortodoxia con la que la historiografía

<sup>1</sup> Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España (Madrid, 1862) XLI, p. 147.

tradicional había dibujado su pensamiento religioso<sup>2</sup>. Los contactos de Montano con grupos heterodoxos de Flandes — en especial, con miembros de la *Familia Charitatis* — y la posibilidad de influjo sobre su pensamiento teológico fueron recibidos con interés por parte de los estudiosos del humanismo y la espiritualidad españoles, entre ellos el padre Melquiades Andrés<sup>3</sup>. Sin embargo, fue el mismo padre Andrés quien, años más tarde y en el estudio introductorio a una reedición del *Dictatum Christianum*, inició una reacción crítica contra la supuesta heterodoxia montaniana. Allí se preguntaba en torno al sentido religioso del manual: “¿*Dictatum Christianum* es un libro críptico?...¿Es una obra dirigida a iniciados, a una pequeña grey o grupo determinado? ¿Se trata únicamente del lenguaje evangélico y patrístico: Maestro, discípulo, condiscípulo, el resto de Israel, *pusillus grex*?”. La respuesta la daba él mismo: “Ciertamente he observado en la atenta lectura del libro, que la doctrina sustentada por Arias Montano en *Dictatum* no encaja con el sistema familista propuesto por Rekers. Por el contrario la obra es plenamente ortodoxa”<sup>4</sup>. Tras los trabajos del padre Andrés, la crítica actual ha tendido a rechazar u obviar la cuestión de la heterodoxia e incluso del erasmismo en el pensamiento religioso de Arias Montano.

Aunque el libro no tuviera un sentido críptico, tampoco puede afirmarse que atendiera a una religiosidad común o que la fórmula *pusillus grex* no tuviera ningún significado particular. En realidad, la respuesta definitiva sólo puede encontrarse en los textos montanianos. La expresión tiene un origen evangélico, en concreto Lc 12, 32: “Nolite timere *pusillus grex*, quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum”, que se complementa con otro versículo del mismo capítulo, Lc 12, 28: “Si autem foenum, quod hodie est in agro, et cras in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic vestit, quanto magis vos *pusillae fidei*?”. La palabra latina *pusillus* responde en la traducción de la Vulgata a dos términos distintos del original griego. Si en el versículo 28 aparece la forma ὀλιγόπιστοι, esto es, de fe débil y escasa, en el 32, el adjetivo utilizado es τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον, es decir, el pequeño rebaño, refiriéndose exclusivamente al tamaño y al número de miembros.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Maurice Sabbe, ‘Arias Montano y Barrefelt. Hiël y la teología ortodoxa’, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, 8 (1934), 63-92; Ben Rekers, *Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1973) (= *Benito Arias Montano* (London, 1972)).

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Melquiades Andrés, ‘En torno a un libro sobre Arias Montano’, *Arbor*, 347 (1974), 123.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Melquiades Andrés, ‘Introducción’, Benito Arias Montano, *Dictatum Christianum*, ed. de Melquiades Andrés (Badajoz, 1983), pp. LXVII y LXIX.

El sentido complementario de los términos griegos lo recogió Arias Montano en su comentario a esos dos versículos en *Elucidationes in Quatuor Evangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Iohannis, quibus accedunt eiusdem elucidationes in Acta Apostolorum*, que salió de las prensas plantinianas en 1575, el mismo año que el *Dictatum*. En las notas marginales a san Lucas, desarrolló la explicación de ambos conceptos:

*Pusillus grex.* In speciem contemptibilis mundo, utpote parvus, tenuis, simplex, atque rerum humanarum parum studiosus; a pompa, avaritia, ambitioneque alienus grex: quamquam his omnibus mundo iudicatis incommodis affecti, tamen nolite timere futuram inopiam, aut indigentiam et miseriam aliquam: quia vobis qui huiusmodi affectu, animo et studio fueritis, complacuit Patri dare regnum: ideo omnem vestram curam, omne studium ab aliis cogitationibus et actionibus, ad regni caelestis desiderium et cupiditatem expetitionemque transferte: et si quid habetis in terra possessionum, vendite, et pretium in caelos mittite.

*Pusillae fidei.* Sic vocantur in scholasticis disceptationibus ii qui vel ob ignorantiam rerum divinarum, vel ob animi deiectionem minus alte sentirent de Deo, obscurius crederent, et minus attente ac firmiter sperarent, habebaturque minimus gradus, imo postremus, in profectu pietatis ac religionis; atqui in hoc gradu constituit Iesus eos qui mundana ac terrena studiose quaerunt.<sup>5</sup>

El hecho mismo de anotar el pasaje, la identificación de los miembros de la grey como herederos del reino de Dios o la contraposición que se establece entre la interpretación de las *disceptationes scholasticae* y el verdadero sentido cristiano pueden ser un índice claro de que Arias Montano concedía un valor singular a la mencionada fórmula<sup>6</sup>.

En los libros bíblicos el significado teológico del término *pusillus* se establece por oposición a *magnus*. Así se deduce de Ps 113, 13: “Benedixit omnibus qui timent Dominum, *pusillis cum maioribus*”; o

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Elucidationes in Quatuor Evangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Iohannis, quibus accedunt eiusdem elucidationes in Acta Apostolorum* (Antuerpiae, 1575), p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> Una contraposición similar entre la Escolástica y un cristianismo más sencillo y próximo a los principios evangélicos se encuentra en la defensa que Montano hizo de la interpretación literal de la Biblia en el prólogo al *De optimo imperio*: ‘Quippe enarrationis genus cum primis suscepimus familiare, planum ac simplex, quod ipsa verborum significatio exigere videatur, quodque tenuibus nostrique simillimis lectoribus capi, probari, et ad Christianam vitam informandam cum utilitate retineri posse sperabamus; quod genus literale a nonnullis dicitur, id est, quod scripturae lectio simplex primum postulat’ (Benedictus Arias Montanus, *De optimo imperio sive in librum Iosuae Commentarium* (Antuerpiae, 1583), f. 3v).

en Sap 6, 8: “Quoniam *pusillum* et *magnum* ipse fecit, et aequaliter cura est illi de omnibus”<sup>7</sup>. Pero, fuera de los textos ya comentados de Lc 12, 28 y 32, es en el evangelio de san Mateo donde adquiere el sentido con que Montano lo utilizó. Con esa acepción se encuentra en diversos lugares del capítulo decimoctavo: “qui autem scandalizaverit unum de *pusillis* istis qui in me credunt expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo eius” (Mt 18, 6), “Videte ne contemnatis unum ex his *pusillis*” (Mt 18, 10) o “Sic non est voluntas ante Patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est, ut pereat unus de *pusillis* istis” (Mt 18, 14). Y con el mismo significado aparece en la versión latina de san Marcos, “Et quisquis scandalizaverit unum ex his *pusillis* credentibus in me” (Mc 9, 41), y de san Lucas, “Utilius est illi si lapis molaris imponatur circa collum eius, et proiciatur in mare quam ut scandalizet unum de *pusillis* istis” (Lc 17, 2). El evangelio de San Mateo también acudió a otros términos como *parvulus* o *minimus* como sinónimos de *pusillus* y para referirse a los hijos más débiles y preferidos de Dios; por ejemplo en Mt 18, 4, “Quicumque ergo humiliaverit se sicut *parvulus* iste, hic est maior in regno caelorum”, o en Mt 10, 42, “Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex *minimis* istis calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli: amen dico vobis, non perdet mercedem suam”.

La identificación del verdadero cristiano, del más próximo al sentido espiritual de la doctrina evangélica, como *pusillus*, *simplex*, *candidus*, *docilis* o como *discipulus* se convirtió en un tópico recurrente en los escritos montanianos a partir de 1575. En abril de 1579 dirigió una súplica de amparo al Consejo de la Inquisición argumentando que lo había escrito “no con specie alguna de ficción, ni odio, ni temor, ni otra pasión, sino con la simplicidad cristiana”<sup>8</sup>. Por su parte, al inicio del prefacio de *Elucidationes in omnia sanctorum apostolorum scripta, eiusdem in S. Johannis apostoli et evangelistae Apocalypsin significationes*, publicado en 1588, hace referencia a sus *Elucidationes in Quatuor Evangelia* (“non paucis ex *candidiorum lectorum* numero, ut intelleximus, probatae (sc. *Elucidationes*)”<sup>9</sup>) y vuelve a utilizar la fórmula *pusillus grex* para referirse a los destinatarios de su obra: “*pusilli gregis*, hoc

<sup>7</sup> La misma estructura se repite en diversos lugares del *Apocalypsis*, como Apoc 11, 18; Apoc 13, 16; o Apoc 19, 5 y 18.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Ben Rekers, *Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1973), p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Elucidationes in omnia sanctorum apostolorum scripta, eiusdem in S. Johannis apostoli et evangelistae Apocalypsin significationes* (Antuerpiae, 1588), p. A2r.

est, non alta sapientium, usum exhibemus”<sup>10</sup>. Y en la nota que abre el último capítulo del libro, “In Apocalypsin significationes, Praefatio”, llega a afirmar que sólo a “los piadosos y los simples” les está reservado el conocimiento de los misterios del libro de san Juan: “huius libri mysteria omnia...nec posse plene atque abunde percipi, nisi ab iis quibus idem qui sermonis huius author est Deus, rem ipsam de qua agitur efficienter communicet; posse autem a *piis atque simplicibus* veri amatoribus, nihilque proprio humano ingenio ac iudicio indulgentibus, Christi-que sinceræ viae non ignaris”<sup>11</sup>. Durante el proceso inquisitorial contra fray José de Sigüenza, celebrado en 1592, el prior del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, fray Diego de Yepes, atribuyó a Montano la recomendación de no leer “libros de devoción, sino el Evangelio desnudo”, ya que “por allí han de començar *los nuevos y los idiotas*”<sup>12</sup>. Los *Hymni et saecula*, de 1593, acuden al mismo tópico: “Nempe *animus simplex* ac purus spiritus ipse / crederis, et gaudes *simplicitate* Deus”<sup>13</sup>.

En ese mismo año de 1593, el tema pasó a ser uno de los argumentos centrales del *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani*. Ya desde el prefacio de la obra, Arias Montano dirige su libro “*simplicium hominum* mentibus” y se refiere a la “*simplicis et sciendi cupidi hominis cuiuspiam sanam mentem*”<sup>14</sup>. La misma fórmula se repite en varios lugares del libro, como “*speciem simplicibus et probis discipulis* haud absimilem dissimillimo animo conferebat”, “*simpliciores et sanae mentis homines*”, “*imbellique gregi* sociisque magistri Nazaridum”, “*grex ille pius*” o “*grege sancto*”<sup>15</sup>. A estas calificaciones añade otras atribuciones propias de estos cristianos señalados por Dios, como era un especial conocimiento de los misterios divinos (“*arcanae salutis mysterium, doctissimis hominum ignotum, modestissimis atque sui ipsorum contemptoribus declaratum*”<sup>16</sup>) o una enemistad permanente con los malvados, los

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. A2v.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>12</sup> Vid. *Proceso inquisitorial del padre Sigüenza*, ed. de Gregorio de Andrés (Madrid, 1975), pp. 190-191.

<sup>13</sup> Vid. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Hymni et saecula* (Antuerpiae, 1593), p. 198.

<sup>14</sup> Vid. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani* (Antuerpiae, 1593), ‘Praefatio’. En adelante abreviada por B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*

<sup>15</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, pp. 475, 544, 551, 583 y 593.

<sup>16</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 72.

*magni* del *Antiguo Testamento* (“simplices ac probos viros periculo suo in improborum consuetudine perpetuo versari”<sup>17</sup>). Entre ese grupo de “pios et sanae mentis homines”, Arias Montano incluyó a Abel (en el que “interioris hominis candor, simplicitas ac probitas lucebat”<sup>18</sup>), a Set, a Jacob o a Abraham, del que dice:

Nec vero Abramus, quamquam, tot modis exornatus, clarus ac celebris, aut ab humanitatis officiis, aut a vitae modestia, comitate, facilitate et morum simplicitate vel minima ex parte deductus unquam fuit.<sup>19</sup>

Pero ese grupo de hombres religiosos no sólo estaba formado por personajes del Antiguo o el Nuevo Testamento, sino por todos los que seguían el mismo modelo de comportamiento: “Atque simpliciorum magisque, apertorum, Abellisque simillimorum hominum sensus ac mens ita erga divinam bonitatem et voluntatem sese exhibuerunt”<sup>20</sup>. El propio Montano se calificaba a sí mismo con esos adjetivos en una carta dirigida en 1594 al cartujo Esteban de Salazar, que le había atacado con motivo de la publicación de la *Biblia Regia*:

... y lo mismo haré siempre en ausencia de V.P. por lo que me obliga el precepto de Dios, y porque él lo dio, por su bondad me hizo de este ánimo pequeño y pusilo o como le quiera llamar.<sup>21</sup>

Todavía en la “Elegia Votiva” que abre el tratado póstumo *Naturae Historia*, publicado en 1601, se reproducen las mismas referencias a la simplicidad de la pequeña grey: “Queis *verum simplex* queis pietas placet”, “Interea, quae contingent partire libenter / *exiguo* atque avido discere vera *gregi*” o “Ergo pater Deus, ipse bonus felicia vota / atque mihi, atque *gregi* perficias *humili*”<sup>22</sup>. Incluso en el entorno espiritual e ideológico de Montano pueden encontrarse fórmulas similares, como la que utiliza Hiël, profeta de la *Familia Charitatis*, para justificar a la validez de las obras exteriores para los no iniciados y menos espirituales:

<sup>17</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 79.

<sup>18</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 86.

<sup>19</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 145.

<sup>20</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 419.

<sup>21</sup> Vid. Tomás González Carvajal, ‘Elogio histórico del doctor Benito Arias Montano’, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 2 (Madrid, 1832), 189.

<sup>22</sup> Vid. Benedictus Arias Montanus, *Naturae Historia* (Antuerpiae, 1601), ‘Elegia Votiva’, vv. 68, 95-96 y 105-106.

In aller solcher Weise sind die Dienste und Ceremonien vor *die Kleinen und Unmündigen* gut und nicht böse, ob sie auch gleich in verschiedenen Weisen gebraucht werden.<sup>23</sup>

Por su parte, fray Francisco Cano, capellán y secretario de la reina de Portugal, escribe a Zayas el 10 de mayo de 1577 agradeciéndole el envío de un ejemplar del *Dictatum Christianum* y anunciando su intención de “aprovecharme dél para aprender de tan buen maestro y tan buen condiscípulo”<sup>24</sup>. Hasta en el epistolario de los dos discípulos más señalados de Arias Montano pueden encontrarse ejemplos de estas fórmulas:

... ay sufficientemente de dottrina -escribía Pedro de Valencia a fray José de Sigüenza- en la leche de la sagrada escrittura para satisfazer y hartar ad sobrietatem a *los párvulos* y que se contentan con saber hasta esto, y no usque ad insaniam (...). Pero por ventura no son para essos soldadazos bravos y de grandes plumas y pettos fuertes ni el mismo Saúl por grande que sea, sino algún pastorcito que ni aun nombre de soldado no tenga y que sin saberse dél ni de su valentía, él a solas desquixara leones y ahoga ossos.<sup>25</sup>

Como puede verse, Pedro de Valencia oponía dos modos de aproximarse a la Escritura y a la religión cristiana cifrados en la sencillez de David y en la fuerza humana de Saúl. Toda esa doctrina provenía, en último término, de Arias Montano, que había concebido la historia del género humano como un enfrentamiento entre dos razas de hombres, heredera de Caín una y la otra del tercer hijo de Adán y Eva, Set. Sobre esa concepción se construye todo el *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, sive De historia generis humani*:

Atqui hominem in eo, quem diximus, rerum statu degentem, duplicis prolis parentem factum legimus: alterius quidem insolentis ac superbae, suique tantum amantis, aliisque invidae et infestae, ac plane violentae: alterius vero mitis, lenis, ac piaae, simplicis, facilis et modestissimae. Atque duo haec universae deinceps hominum sobolis ac posteritatis exempla fuerunt in duas tantum vitae vias diducta.<sup>26</sup>

Tras la muerte de Abel, fue Set quien encabezó la progenie de los justos, opuesta desde el principio a los hijos de Caín: “Duplicia tantum

<sup>23</sup> Vid. H. J. Barrefelt, *Sendbriefe* (Amsterdam, 1687), p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> González Carvajal, p. 177.

<sup>25</sup> Vid. G. Antolín, ‘Cartas de Pedro de Valencia al P. José de Sigüenza’, *La ciudad de Dios*, 41 (1896), 494.

<sup>26</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 74.

exempla fuerant in vitae huius mortalis theatro spectata, duplici in scena, Cainitarum altera, id est, eorum qui aperte mali, suique tantum ac suarum rerum amantes et propugnatores, aliarum invasores violenti essent; altera vero Abelitarum, qui Sethi Vatis disciplinam amplexati, probitatem et simplicitatem, cum pietatis notitia observabant”<sup>27</sup>. Esa división en dos géneros de hombre se continuó en el nacimiento de Esaú y Jacob, según Arias Montano, que desarrolla simbólicamente el oráculo de Dios a Rebeca en Gen 25, 23: “Duae gentes sunt in utero tuo. Et duo populi ex ventre tuo dividuntur, populusque populum superabit, et maior serviet minori”. Para Montano, esos dos mellizos representaban las dos actitudes del género humano ante Dios y las dos formas de comportamiento hasta ahora reseñadas:

Praeterea mirari convenit varium gemellorum ingenium, quorum alter natura validior ac robustior, maiorque etiam in foetus quoque maturitate prior; alter vero mollioribus constans elementis, atque ideo ingenio sedatiore, minusque robustis membris, eodem tempore geniti sunt.<sup>28</sup>

Una idea similar aparecía en el *Enchiridion* erasmiano, cuando el humanista báltavo glosó, también de modo simbólico, el mismo pasaje bíblico en relación con el conflicto paulino entre el hombre interior y el exterior:

Hoc igitur illud est vetus dissidium geminorum Iacob et Esau, qui et antequam in lucem ederentur, iam intra materni ventris claustra luctabantur. At Esau quidem praeoccupavit exortum, sed Iacob praecepit benedictionem. Prius enim carnale, sed quod spirituale potius est. Alter erat rufus et pilis obsitus, alter levis. Alter inquietus et venator, alter domestico gaudens otio. Et ille quidem famelicus, ius vendidit primogenitorum, dum vili voluptatis auctoramento illectus, a nativa libertate excidit in servitute peccatorum.<sup>29</sup>

El adjetivo que Montano utiliza en el *Dictatum Christianum* para calificar a la grey, *pusillus*, responde tanto a este carácter de modestia, sencillez y piedad, como al número de los que la forman, puesto que, como se insiste en el *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam*, los cainitas y los pecadores son notablemente más numerosos que los espirituales: “Atque in omnibus istis gregibus ille rudium et integrorum discipulorum

<sup>27</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>28</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>29</sup> Vid. Erasmo de Rotterdam, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, in *Opera Omnia Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. V-1 (Lugduni, 1704), p. 17.



minime frequens esse solet”<sup>30</sup>. Y sólo a este reducido grupo le estaba reservado el don de la redención:

Maximum optimumque datum illud perfectum et arcanum donum... non omnibus promiscue ac sine delectu demum conferendum fuerat, sed iis tantum qui pristinae ac paternae conditionis consuetudinisque poenitentes, mutationis ac verae sui renovationis ardenti desiderio incensi, vota precesque Deo auctori unico constanter ac fideliter facerent.<sup>31</sup>

A pesar de ese exiguo número de justos, éstos se dividen a su vez en dos grupos, correspondientes a dos modos de recibir la llegada y el mensaje de Cristo. Así, cuando Montano narra el nacimiento de Jesús, hace diferencia entre los más rústicos y los que vivían concentrados en el estudio de las cosas divinas:

Igitur cum primum divinum Verbum propter carnis humanae salutem caro factum in terris exstitit, ab hominibus, quorum causa venerat, varie exceptum est: nam simpliciores quidem, cum rudiores, tum vero ii qui sapientiae studio non ad ambitionem, sed ad suam ipsorum et communem utilitatem vacabant, simpliciter, ingenueque, atque pie iam praesentem gratulati salutavere.<sup>32</sup>

Montano señaló como ejemplo de las gentes más sencillas a los pastores, “gens rusticior, simplicis tamen apertaeque mentis” y luego a otros más espirituales, “cultioris vitae homines, pietatis verae candore insignes”<sup>33</sup>. Pero resulta aún más explícito cuando presenta a Cristo dirigiéndose con un lenguaje distinto a los justos, según sean éstos gentes cultas o no:

Nullam aciem humani ingenii tantam esse, quae in arcanam divini doni lucem penetrare possit, duobus testimoniis compertum est, duplicique, per Iesum Christum facto periculo: altero quidem rudioris ac simplicioris mentis, et nulli privatae opinioni vel doctrinae addictae, cuiusmodi facilius imbuuntur ingenia; altero autem cultioris, et humana sapientia pollentis, atque divinis etiam mysteriis, quibus homines ab aliis hominibus initiantur, informatae, prorsusque a dolo et simulatione invidentiaque alienae.<sup>34</sup>

El ejemplo que Montano ofrece de las gentes cultivadas en el estudio es el del fariseo Nicodemo y el de la mujer de Samaria para los más

<sup>30</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 450.

<sup>31</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 529.

<sup>32</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 417.

<sup>33</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 417.

<sup>34</sup> Vid. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, p. 432.

simples, ambos según la narración del evangelio de san Juan<sup>35</sup>. Y era precisamente a este último grupo de piadosos no formados en el estudio de las materias humanas y divinas al que Arias Montano pretendía dirigir su *Dictatum Christianum*. Eso al menos se deduce de las declaraciones del prefacio:

Opera nostra ad eos monendos iuvandosque conferatur, qui maiora cum intelligere non facile possint, commodiora atque aptiora omnibus et universum necessaria ac peropportuna minus fortasse frequenter docentur, quae tamen si ignoraverint, neque salutem obtinere, neque ea quae altiora augustioraque habentur, assequi comprehendereque poterunt.<sup>36</sup>

Y éste es, al menos desde la perspectiva montaniana, el sentido de la fórmula *pusillus grex*, que, en efecto, responde a una conciencia teológica particular, basada en el estudio humanístico de la Biblia y en la que se incluirían aquellos que siguen el ejemplo de Abel, escuchan y aceptan la voz de Dios y cumplen voluntariamente sus preceptos. A esa misma posición doctrinal hay que atribuir la importancia que Arias Montano dio a los términos “maestro” y “discípulo” tanto en su vida como en sus escritos. Y no simplemente porque algunas de sus obras estén rubricadas con la palabra árabe *tilmīd*, esto es, discípulo, o que en sus cartas se negara a aceptar el título de maestro (“que aun el de discípulo no merezco”<sup>37</sup>), sino porque, para Montano, el origen del pecado y del alejamiento de Dios estaba en la confianza en la sabiduría y la ciencia humanas, propia de la secta cainita. Respondiendo a esta idea y conforme a Mt 23, 8-10, en el *Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam* Cristo se presenta como “humani generis Magistrum et Procuratorem unicum” y se cifra el origen de la condena humana en la diversidad de las doctrinas y en el alejamiento de las enseñanzas divinas<sup>38</sup>.

Algún atisbo de heterodoxia debía haber en esta doctrina, cuando los fiscales del proceso contra fray José de Sigüenza atribuyeron la proposición al propio Montano y la calificaron como “malsonante” y “*sapit haeresim haec propositio absolute sumpta*”. El doctor Martín de Isasa lo contaba así en su declaración:

<sup>35</sup> Cf. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, pp. 433-434.

<sup>36</sup> Vid. Benito Arias Montano, *Dictatum Christianum*, ed. de Melquiades Andrés (Badajoz, 1983), pp. 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Vid. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1862), XLI, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. B. Arias Montanus, *Lib. Gen.*, pp. 73-74.

... y que un día Arias Montano, llamándole este testigo doctor, le respondió: “No me llame vuestra merced doctor ni maestro que sólo un doctor y maestro tenemos en el cielo”; y después, en otra ocasión, tratando este testigo con el dicho Montano, le declaró: “A qué propósito decía que había muchos maestros con diversidad de doctrina, porque todos seguimos uno que es a Cristo, y así le reconocemos como único maestro”.<sup>39</sup>

Sólo con estas premisas puede entenderse en su justo sentido el título y el subtítulo del *Dictatum Christianum*, “ex magistri praeceptis et institutis ad pusilli gregis instructionem a condiscipulo Benedicto Aria Montano observatis et in brevem summam collatis”, que, traducido por Pedro de Valencia, se anunciaba “colegido, y brevemente recopilado de la dotrina y reglas del Maestro, por el condiscípulo Benito Arias Montano, para instrucción de la Pequeña Grei”.

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<sup>39</sup> Vid. *Proceso inquisitorial del padre Sigüenza*, ed. de Gregorio de Andrés (Madrid, 1975), pp. 127 y 174.

Juan J. MARTOS

## ORÍGENES Y CRONOLOGÍA DEL *DE REBUS INDICIS* DE JUAN CRISTÓBAL CALVETE DE ESTRELLA

El humanista Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, nacido probablemente entre 1510 y 1520 en Sariñena y muerto en Salamanca en 1593, disfrutó durante su vida del éxito de varias de sus obras que tuvieron la fortuna de imprimirse pronto;<sup>1</sup> otra parte de su producción, en cambio, tardaría bastante en verse publicada. A este grupo pertenece su libro latino más importante, *De rebus Indicis*,<sup>2</sup> cuya primera edición no apareció hasta este siglo.<sup>3</sup> El hecho de no haber visto la luz en vida de su autor, la falta del primer volumen del manuscrito original y la ausencia de noticias indirectas han producido una penuria de datos sobre la obra tan abrumadora que en estos momentos no tenemos certeza sobre la mayor parte de las cuestiones básicas que la enmarcan; así, por ejemplo, no sabemos con seguridad cómo se empezó a escribir, cuándo o dónde. A estas dudas se puede añadir la sospecha del primer editor, López de Toro, de que, en realidad, una parte de los primeros libros no pertenece a Calvete, sino que éste los copió de una obra perdida del cronista López de Gómara. Las consideraciones que siguen se refieren a algunos de estos aspectos, concretamente a la cronología, el destinatario o promotor y la posibilidad de que existan fragmentos al principio escritos por Gómara.

### Cronología

Hay que tener en cuenta, antes que nada, que no hay ningún dato preciso sobre la fecha en la que se compuso la obra. La opinión de López

<sup>1</sup> Concretamente *El felicísimo viage del Príncipe Don Phelipe* (Anvers: Martín Nucio, 1552) y *De Aphrodisio expugnato* (Antuerpiae: Martinus Nutius, 1551) gozaron de inmensa difusión y fueron reeditadas varias veces.

<sup>2</sup> Ioannes Christophorus Caluetus Stella, *De rebus Indicis libri VII*, ed. Juan J. Martos (Stutgardiae et Lipsiae: Teubner, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. José López de Toro, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950).

de Toro, que hasta ahora hemos seguido,<sup>4</sup> consiste básicamente en que *De rebus Indicis* fue encargado por el hijo de Vaca de Castro, Don Pedro Castro Quiñones, después de la *Vaccaeis*<sup>5</sup> y tras entrar en contacto con Calvete en Salamanca a partir de 1583.<sup>6</sup> La obra, por tanto, se habría escrito a finales de siglo, entre este último año y 1593, fecha de la muerte del escritor. Sin embargo, hay algunos datos que permiten dudar de estas afirmaciones.

Para establecer hechos innegables, hay que hacer constar, en primer lugar, que, obviamente, *De rebus Indicis* no pudo escribirse antes de 1556, año en que Vaca de Castro fue absuelto y restituido en sus cargos anteriores, porque estos hechos se dan por sabidos en los primeros capítulos del libro quinto. Por otra parte, todos los libros que Calvete cita aparecieron antes de esta fecha,<sup>7</sup> con lo que tenemos con toda seguridad un *terminus post quem*.

Bastante más complicado es precisar alguna fecha en la que sepamos que la obra estuvo concluida. Las referencias explícitas a la obra son tardías y no aportan datos demasiado significativos. Ercilla, por ejemplo, en su *Araucana* (IV, 70) menciona a nuestro historiador y parece referirse a *De rebus Indicis*:

El coronista Estrella escribe al justo  
de Chile y del Pirú en latín la Historia  
con tanta erudición que será justo  
que dure eternamente su memoria;  
y la vida de Carlos Quinto Augusto,...<sup>8</sup>

Esto es lo que figura en el poema desde 1578, pero en la primera edición de 1569 aparecen estos versos en este mismo lugar:

El erudito Estrella, largamente  
trata en su latín casto desta historia  
con estilo y verdad que eternamente  
quedará della al mundo la memoria,  
y la vida de Carlos vulgarmente.

<sup>4</sup> Caluetus, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. Martos, p. V.

<sup>5</sup> Otra obra del mismo autor e igualmente en latín sobre el mismo tema, pero en verso. Citamos la siguiente edición: Manuel Antonio Díaz Gito, '*La Vaccaeis de Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella*: edición crítica, traducción y estudio introductorio' (Tesis doctoral inédita, Universidad de Cádiz, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, p. X.

<sup>7</sup> El último en aparecer de los libros que se citan es el de Zárate, de 1555.

<sup>8</sup> Alonso de Ercilla, *La Araucana*, ed. Isaías Lerner (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993), p. 189. Para detalles sobre la vida del autor y las ediciones de la obra, véanse sobre todo las pp. 16-17.

Sabemos que Ercilla conocía a Calvete y que estaba en España desde 1563, por lo que pudo tener noticia de las actividades de éste. Da la impresión de que el poeta cita a nuestro humanista en la primera redacción como historiador de los mismos hechos que él está tratando, ya que precisamente remite a él a quien quiera saber algo más sobre el asunto,<sup>9</sup> y, al darse cuenta de su error, volvió a escribir los versos para las publicaciones siguientes. En efecto, *el erudito Estrella* sólo habló de Chile incidentalmente y únicamente en aquellos aspectos que tenían importancia para Perú. En cualquier caso, se podría entender en este contexto que ese *trata* del segundo verso alude a que la *historia* estaba ya terminada al aparecer el poema épico (1569). Sin embargo, la alteración que sufre el texto en las ediciones sucesivas y, sobre todo, su carácter poético no permiten utilizarlo como indicio cronológico muy firme.

De todas maneras hay un dato que tiene gran importancia: en una carta fechada el 20 de mayo de 1581,<sup>10</sup> en la que pide que se le suplique al rey que lo nombre cronista, alude Calvete a '[obras] que quiero sacar a luz como es la Historia de las Indias en Latin que va dedicada á su Magestad', y un poco más adelante escribe:

... soy cierto que dizindoselo V.M.<sup>11</sup> su Magestad vsando de su acostumbrada grandeza gratitud y Real beniuolencia me hara la merced que pido pues es coça de su Real seruicio y en my concurren las partes como todos sauen que a tal cargo se requieren y entonçes sacare a luz la Historia de las Indias en Latin que tan deseada es por todos los hombres Doctos. y asi mismo la Poësia donde V.M. tiene su parte y tambien siendo su Magestad seruido escriuire vn commentario en latin del felicisimo successo de Portugal...

Resulta obvio que la *Historia de las Indias* en latín no es ni más ni menos que *De rebus Indicis*, dedicada precisamente *ad Philippum Catholicum Hispaniarum et Indiarum regem*, y que la preocupación del autor en estos momentos es *sacarla a luz*; por tanto, si lo que pretendía era publicarla, estaba ya escrita. Véase cómo se refiere, en cambio, a la historia de la anexión de Portugal (*escriuire*), que, por lo que sabemos,

<sup>9</sup> Así parecen indicarlo los tres últimos versos de la estrofa anterior (IV, 69): '*pero pues hay de Chile historia cierta/ allí lo podrá ver el que quisiere,/ si gana de saberlo le viniere.*' (p.188) Con esto se excusa Ercilla de seguir la narración y aprovecha para alabar a su maestro.

<sup>10</sup> Londres, British Library, Mss. Add. 28342. Transcripción y reproducción fotográfica en Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, pp. XLVII-XLVIII.

<sup>11</sup> V.M. =Vuestra Merced. No se sabe con seguridad quién fue el destinatario de la carta.

no llegó a realizar nunca. Así pues, parece que los límites incontestables entre los que debe situarse la redacción de la obra son 1556 y 1581.<sup>12</sup>

Ante la falta de más documentación, parece oportuno acudir al análisis interno del texto. Sin embargo, no hay ninguna mención de acontecimientos que rebasen el término *post quem*, ni históricos ni familiares.<sup>13</sup> La única parte del libro que puede arrojar cierta luz sobre el tema es una pequeña indicación en el libro séptimo,<sup>14</sup> en el que, hablando del valle de Jaquijahuana y siguiendo literalmente a Cieza, Calvete alude a otros acontecimientos que se desarrollaron en este valle y escribe: '*quae suis locis persequemur*'. Si leemos el texto de Cieza,<sup>15</sup> está claro que estos hechos que iba a narrar Calvete en su correspondiente lugar son sin duda la batalla en la que Don Pedro de la Gasca derrotó al ejército de Gonzalo Pizarro. Naturalmente esto no aparece en la obra tal cual la tenemos ni, aunque pensáramos que quedó inacabada,<sup>16</sup> cabe admitir que se tratara un asunto en el que Vaca de Castro no tuvo nada que ver, porque ya había regresado a España. Es lógico, por tanto, considerar la posibilidad de que Calvete se refiera a otra de sus obras, la *Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de Don Pedro Gasca*, cuyo tema es precisamente éste. Pues bien, si se acepta lo anterior, se considera que la cita está ya muy próxima al final de la obra, y se atiende al tiempo futuro de *persequemur*, habría que concluir que *De rebus Indicis* estaba acabada antes de la redacción del libro castellano sobre Gasca. Coincide, además, esto con el

<sup>12</sup> En cambio, López de Toro entiende las alusiones de esta carta de una manera totalmente diferente y la cita en realidad para apoyar su hipótesis de que Calvete pudiera tener ya la traducción de Gómara: según él *De rebus Indicis* no estaría todavía escrito, lo que tendría nuestro humanista es la versión latina de la *Historia general de las Indias*, que pensaba aprovechar si finalmente conseguía el título de cronista y que pocos años después, al conocer a D. Pedro Castro Quiñones en 1583 y emprender realmente la obra, haría pasar por obra propia (Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, pp. XLVI-XLVIII). Todo esto parece contradecir lo que literalmente y sin interpretaciones aparece en la carta.

<sup>13</sup> En la *Vaccaeis*, en cambio, se alude al viaje de Antonio, hijo de Vaca de Castro, a las Indias (cf. e.g. Díaz Gito, pp. 119-120 [vv. 3077-3114]), que sucedió probablemente entre 1560 y 1569 (cf. María Isabel Viforcós Marinas — Jesús Paniagua Pérez, *El leónés don Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, gobernador y organizador del Perú* (León, 1991), pp. 132-133).

<sup>14</sup> Caluetus, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. Martos, p. 560 (7, 152, 3).

<sup>15</sup> Pedro Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 26 (Madrid: Atlas, 1947), p. 437.

<sup>16</sup> Opinión propiciada por uno de los manuscritos, el de la Academia de la Historia, en el que aparece el título 'libri XX': de acuerdo con López de Toro (Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, p. XXIII), la considero totalmente errónea (Caluetus, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. Martos, p. XII).

hecho de que en las últimas líneas de la *Vida de Gasca* se mencione en términos elogiosos a Vaca de Castro, insistiendo en su inocencia,<sup>17</sup> a la que el autor ya habría dedicado su obra anterior. Y si se tiene en cuenta que la *Rebelión de Pizarro* está perfectamente datada y sabemos que se redactó entre los años 1565 y 1567, podríamos considerar que Calvete debió escribir *De rebus Indicis* entre 1556 y 1565. Como mucho, admitiendo que la redacción de ambas obras fuera paralela, se podría ampliar el plazo hasta 1567. Estas fechas, por cierto, no se oponen a las que, siguiendo nuestra interpretación, podríamos haber deducido de la mención de Ercilla. Además, coinciden también en parte con la que admite Díaz Gito para la conclusión de *Vaccaeis*<sup>18</sup> (1566), por lo cual cabe pensar que Calvete redactó prácticamente toda su obra americanista en la década de los sesenta.

### El promotor de la obra

En general estoy de acuerdo con López de Toro en que la obra debió ser un encargo y que no había nadie más adecuado que un familiar del protagonista, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, para hacerlo. Sin embargo, no creo que haya que identificar necesariamente a Don Pedro Castro Quiñones con el promotor de *De rebus Indicis*: ya se ha visto que ésta tuvo que estar acabada sin ningún género de dudas antes de 1581 (o, de acuerdo con nuestra opinión, de 1565), mientras que Calvete, según López de Toro, no llegaría a coincidir con el prelado hasta 1583. En cualquier caso, hay que tener en cuenta que Calvete pudo conocer a la familia mucho antes de lo que escribe López de Toro: en efecto, Díaz Gito observa que el escritor debió contraer matrimonio en torno a 1556 y precisamente con una mujer que al parecer era familia de Don Cristóbal, según denuncia su primer apellido: Anna Vacca de Villarruel.<sup>19</sup> No sería, por tanto, nada extraño que estando ya casado con una pariente del homenajeado empezara a trabajar en *De rebus Indicis* por los años que hemos considerado. De todas maneras es muy probable que, si se acepta la datación que hemos señalado, no fuera precisamente Pedro sino el

<sup>17</sup> Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de don Pedro Gasca*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 167-168 (Madrid: Atlas, 1964-1965), pp. CLXVIII, 147.

<sup>18</sup> Díaz Gito, p. LXVII.

<sup>19</sup> Díaz Gito, pp. XVIII-XIX.



hijo mayor y heredero del mayorazgo, Antonio, el que se encargara de limpiar el buen nombre de su padre. Incluso habría que pensar en la posibilidad de que se tratara del propio Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, que no moriría hasta 1571. Naturalmente, el hecho de que el manuscrito original se encuentre en el Sacromonte de Granada se debe al fundador de esta abadía, Pedro Castro Quiñones, arzobispo de esta ciudad desde 1589, que acabó siendo el heredero por la muerte de su hermano Antonio; pero esto no quiere decir ni que el libro se compusiera por esa época ni que fuera encargado necesariamente por el obispo, sino que éste quiso recoger en la institución que había creado todos los documentos relativos a su padre, tanto actas judiciales como obras literarias dedicadas a su progenitor, entre las que Calvete le envió las propias.<sup>20</sup> En resumen, no creo que en estos momentos podamos determinar quién encargó la obra, aunque es verosímil que se tratara de alguien del círculo familiar de Vaca de Castro.

### La supuesta inclusión de obras de Gómara en *De rebus Indicis*

López de Toro en el prólogo a su edición desarrolla la hipótesis de que los primeros libros de *De rebus Indicis* pudieran constituir la traducción que hizo López de Gómara de su propia obra y que hubiera ido a parar a manos de Calvete tras su muerte.<sup>21</sup> Sabemos de la existencia de la versión latina por las palabras del propio autor en el prólogo a su *Hispania Victrix*,<sup>22</sup> y también es seguro que a la muerte de Gómara (1559) pasaron sus papeles al obispo de Osma, Honorato Juan, que falleció también al cabo de poco tiempo.<sup>23</sup> A partir de este momento no se conoce con certeza qué pasó con los manuscritos, pero López de Toro sospecha que pudieran llegar a Calvete. Díaz Gito refuerza esta conjetura revelando la conexión entre el último poseedor conocido y nuestro humanista.<sup>24</sup> López de Toro apoya su teoría con ejemplos de traducciones literales de pasajes de la *Historia general de las Indias* de Gómara en *De rebus Indicis*, que son, desde luego, indiscutibles.

<sup>20</sup> Esta es también la opinión de Francisco Cerdá y Rico en el prólogo a su edición de *De Aphrodisio expugnato* (Madrid: Pérez de Soto, 1771), citado por Díaz Gito, p. XXXII.

<sup>21</sup> Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, pp. XXVIII-XLVI.

<sup>22</sup> Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de las Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 22 (Madrid: Atlas, 1946), pp. 155-156.

<sup>23</sup> Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. López de Toro, I, pp. XLIV-XLV.

<sup>24</sup> Díaz Gito, p. XXXV.

A pesar de todo, no creo que se pueda dar por segura esta conjetura. Hay algunos aspectos que merecerían considerarse:

1. Es verdad que Calvete traduce servilmente pasajes de Gómara, pero es que hace exactamente lo mismo con Zárate y sobre todo con Cieza.<sup>25</sup>
2. *De rebus Indicis* no es traducción de la obra de López de Gómara: aprovecha fragmentos muy extensos, pero añade cosas y, sobre todo, omite la mayoría desde el principio.<sup>26</sup> Si Gómara vertió su propio libro al latín, lo verosímil es que siguiera sus escritos castellanos, por lo menos en cuanto a los planteamientos generales, y éstos no se reflejan en absoluto en Calvete. Es más, según el propio Gómara, lo que estaba haciendo no era ni mucho menos abreviar sus escritos, sino exactamente lo contrario, ampliarlos.<sup>27</sup>
3. Por otra parte, es lógico que Calvete tomara casi todo de Gómara al principio, porque de los tres autores que maneja es el único que escribe una historia general de las Indias, los otros se centran en el Perú y nuestro autor decidió enmarcar la obra en un contexto más general.
4. Si se presta atención, el plan de Calvete parece encaminado desde el principio al Perú: descubrimiento de las Indias (primer viaje de Colón), de la mar del Sur, a partir de la que se llegaría al Incario (Balboa), del paso hasta la Especiería (Magallanes) y, finalmente, del mismo Perú (Pizarro y Almagro); todo esto se narra en el libro primero; *De rebus Indicis*, por tanto, se desvía radicalmente desde su comienzo de lo que podría ser una historia general de las Indias, precisamente lo que escribió Gómara. La traducción de éste consistiría en una crónica mucho más vasta o, quizá, centrada en México, como la segunda parte de su obra castellana.

<sup>25</sup> Y lo mismo cabría decir de otros documentos (Calvete, *De rebus Indicis*, ed. Martos, p. XII). Véase como ejemplo I.11.1 (p. 13), que es cita literal de Cieza (p. 354). Considérese, además, que está prácticamente al principio, en la parte supuestamente escrita por Gómara, y que las muestras podrían multiplicarse cuanto se quiera. Las coincidencias entre los tres autores y el texto de Calvete son continuas; téngase en cuenta que, de las veces que aparecen citados en el aparato crítico de nuestra edición Cieza, Gómara o Zárate, la mayoría son traducciones literales.

<sup>26</sup> Así, por ejemplo, pasa por alto todo el comienzo, desde la página 157 a la 165, salvo alguna indicación de la 161, y en ésta última ya no coincide con Gómara en la patria de Colón; de aquí (p. 167) omite todo hasta la página 191.

<sup>27</sup> '*Quedo haciéndola en latin de mas espacio, [...] Y allí diré muchas cosas que aquí se callan, pues el lenguaje lo sufre y lo requiere...*' (Gómara, p. 156).

Por todas estas razones no parece en absoluto verosímil que Calvete de Estrella se aprovechara de la traducción latina del mismo López de Gómara, si es que la tuvo realmente en las manos, para insertarla sin más en *De rebus Indicis*, incluso aunque se hubiera limitado al primer libro.

Pero, sobre todo, hay otro argumento que creo definitivo: el estilo, que no varía sensiblemente entre los primeros libros y el resto, muy especialmente el libro séptimo, al que, según el mismo López de Toro, no llega con toda seguridad la supuesta traducción de Gómara. Tampoco hay diferencias apreciables entre nuestra obra y *De Aphrodisio expugnato*, publicado en 1551, probablemente unos diez años antes como mínimo; es más, la identidad del estilo del autor es manifiesta. Véanse algunos ejemplos de coincidencias entre esta obra y el libro primero de *De rebus Indicis*, que, de acuerdo con la hipótesis de López de Toro, habría salido en realidad de la pluma de Gómara:<sup>28</sup>

**1.3.1** (5): reges animi constantia orationeque Columbi adducti / Mauri maiestate oppidi et religione adducti (Aphr. 7<sup>r</sup>). **1.17.3** (20): cum idoneam nactus ad nauigandum esset tempestatem / nactus peridoneam ad nauigandum tempestatem (Aphr. 10<sup>v</sup>). **1.2.2** (5): neque enim ambigo, si tres naues instructae armis, commeatibus et militibus Hispanis mihi attribuantur, quin faustis auspiciis uestris ea in alterum orbem nauigatio prosperum successum sit habitura. / quin etiam si viginti quinque triremes sibi attribuantur, [...] neque se ambigere, si huic expeditioni ipse adsit, quin prosperum successum sit habitura (Aphr. 15<sup>v</sup> y 16<sup>v</sup>). **1.4.2** (6-7): ut sunt uariae mortalium res / ut sunt mortalium res (Aphr. 23<sup>r</sup>). **1.49.3** (47): quae res ... causa fuit initiumque malorum quae inde orta infelicem exitum habuere / haec res... infelicem exitum habuit (Aphr. 27<sup>r</sup>). **1.32.3** (33): propterea quod Indi passim per litora armati occurrerent, excessum aditumque in terram prohiberent audacterque oram illam tutarentur nostrosque probris et contumeliis uexarent / Quo fiebat ut nullus irruptioni locus esset et oppidani ex muro nostros irridere ac contumeliis probrisque uexare non desinerent (Aphr. 36<sup>v</sup>). **1.24.3** (26): nostri, qui iam ex fluctibus per scopulos euaserant, in eos irruunt et, cum tormentis manualibus uti non possent, propterea quod tormentarius puluis aquis esset corruptus,... / Hispani tametsi... premebantur, quippe qui in fluctibus consisterent, neque manualibus tormentis commode uti possent, quod aquis tormentarius puluis corruptus esset, tamen... (Aphr. 44<sup>r</sup>).

Espero que estas muestras sean suficientes. De todas formas, basta la lectura de los dos textos para convencerse de que el estilo es único y el

<sup>28</sup> Cito en primer lugar el texto de *De rebus Indicis* según mi edición (n. 2) con el número del libro, capítulo, párrafo y, entre paréntesis, la página; a continuación, el texto de *De Aphrodisio expugnato* según la primera edición (n. 1).

autor el mismo, a pesar del tiempo transcurrido entre uno y otro. Lo que hizo Calvete de Estrella es, por tanto, traducir literalmente partes del texto castellano de Gómara, de la misma manera que procedió con el resto de sus fuentes, pero la redacción latina y la composición es indiscutiblemente suya. No creo que en estos momentos quede absolutamente ninguna razón para seguir manteniendo la hipótesis de López de Toro.

### Conclusiones

Todos los razonamientos anteriores nos llevan a las siguientes consideraciones: Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella probablemente escribió *De rebus Indicis* entre 1556 y 1565 (seguramente más cerca de la segunda fecha que de la primera), a instancias de un miembro de la familia Vaca de Castro que no es posible identificar y, si bien tradujo literalmente al latín multitud de pasajes de los autores que le sirvieron como fuente, no empezó su libro aprovechando la versión latina que de su propia obra hiciera Francisco López de Gómara.

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## THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS STAPLETON AND JOHANNES MORETUS: AN ADDITIONAL LETTER

In 1876, the Plantin house, which was owned by Edward Moretus, was acquired by the city of Antwerp. Almost all the archives and manuscripts it contained were handed over to the city too. Edward Moretus, however, decided to keep about 275 letters (and poems), a handwritten copy of which was made under the direction of the first curator of the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Max Rooses; this copy is still in the Museum.<sup>1</sup> The curator was not interested in all the documents of the collection and thought some of them not even worthy of copying. The original documents were inherited by Edward Moretus' s son-in-law and thus came into the possession of the family de Renette. In 1973, the entire bundle was sold to the Royal Library at Brussels, where it became Ms. III 1483. In 1975, some items from the collection were on exhibition in the Royal Library; in the accompanying catalogue<sup>2</sup>, however, the manuscript has not been described in its entirety. Moreover, its various contents have not been incorporated in the files of the manuscripts room of the Library; even today, there is but one way to dig out what exactly Ms. III 1483 contains: one has to order it and to read it through! Finally, not even Kristeller's excellent *Iter Italicum* offers any aid for this collection, since it does not enumerate the specific contents of the manuscript and limits itself<sup>3</sup> to a brief mention of Abraham Grapheus, Justus Lipsius<sup>4</sup>, Petrus

<sup>1</sup> Arch. 95: *Lettres et papiers concernant la famille Plantin-Moretus et l' Officine Plantinienne en possession de Mr le général Baron de Renette-Moretus que j' ai copiés ou résumés du 28 Novembre 1881 jusqu' au 31 mars 1882* — M. Rooses.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vijf jaar aanwinsten 1969-1973. Tentoonstelling georganiseerd in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I van 18 januari tot 1 maart 1975. Handschriften* (Brussels, 1975), no. 69, pp. 138-141 (by C. Lemaire-De Vaere).

<sup>3</sup> P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Accedunt alia itinera. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, III (London — Leiden, 1983), p. 111a.

<sup>4</sup> The general ignorance of this manuscript is exemplified by the edition of *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, V: 1592 (Brussels, 1991), pp. 333-335: as late as 1991, the editors, following A. Gerlo — H. D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse, 1564-1606*

Pantinus, Erycius Puteanus, Leonardus Lessius, Andreas Schottus, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Abraham Ortelius, Philip Rubens and Carolus Clusius, and thus omits (to mention only a few names) Jacobus Wallius, Franciscus Lucas, Bernardus Bauhusius, Aubertus Miraeus, Lucas Wyngaerdus, Carolus Scribanus, Heribertus Rosweyodus, Arnoldus a Boecop, Daniel and Isaac Elzevier, Hermannus Hugo, Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius<sup>5</sup> and ... Thomas Stapleton! Given the fact that the manuscript remained almost unknown, it will not come as a surprise to the reader that the letter we present here was overlooked when the correspondence between Thomas Stapleton and Johannes Moretus was edited in this journal.<sup>6</sup>

Stapleton's letter to Moretus of 16 March, 1592, received by Moretus on 7 April, which we want to rescue from oblivion, was known to Max Rooses who copied it or had it copied in 1881-1882<sup>7</sup>; the transcription, however, of this letter (and of many other ones) is quite unsatisfactory and marred by errors which are corrected here on the basis of the autograph.

### Context of the new letter

On 24 December 1591 Stapleton had written once more to Johannes Moretus, viz. letter 17, which arrived in Antwerp on 7 January, 1592. Stapleton was obviously embittered and angry, for the printer was not willing to publish his *Authoritatis Ecclesiasticae circa S. Scripturarum approbationem adeoque in universum luculenta et accurata Defensio*<sup>8</sup> against the Cambridge theologian William Whitaker. Stapleton was particularly vexed because one of Moretus's reasons was that he thought apologetic reactions against the attacks of one single person of poor

(Antwerp, 1968), p. 146, presumed that the original letter from Ortelius to Lipsius (20 August 1592) was still kept in Braine-le-Château in the library of Baron de Renette.

<sup>5</sup> Sarbievius's poem was not copied in the manuscript which is now Arch. 95 of the Antwerp Museum Plantin-Moretus. Cf. D. Sacré, 'Some Unnoticed and Unpublished Letters From Balthasar Moretus To or Concerning the Latin Poet Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595-1640) (With an Unknown Autograph Poem)', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1999), 205-229.

<sup>6</sup> J. De Landtsheer, 'The Correspondence of Thomas Stapleton and Johannes Moretus: A Critical and Annotated Edition', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45 (1996), 430-503.

<sup>7</sup> Arch. 95, no. 115 pp. 286-287.

<sup>8</sup> Further referred to as *Defensio*.

commercial interest. According to the theologian, this point of view would make it very difficult for a Catholic to find a suitable printer for his refutations. In consequence of Moretus's refusal Stapleton will have to look for another printer whom he can entrust with his future writings and he shall not bother Moretus any longer. He has presented his *Defensio* to Balthasar Bellerus in Douai, who promised to carry the job through before the spring book fair in Frankfurt. Hence Stapleton is now having a copy made which he will send to Bellerus as soon as the Christmas period is over. Huffed as he is, the theologian wants to teach Moretus a lesson: what a pity for Johannes Moretus that his fellow-citizen Petrus Bellerus has already obtained the privilege for the reissue of the *Promptuarium Catholicum*! As Moretus's fellow-printer had been waiting for addenda and corrigenda from Stapleton, the latter has sent him his carefully revised copy in the first days of December 1591. With a hypocritical 'I regret that you have been preceded by Bellerus', he hits home further: 'but you should have thought of that privilege in good time. It is too late now'. Between the lines he hints at still more unpleasantness, for instance the *Promptuarium Morale in Festa Sanctorum* (previously, Moretus had shown his interest in this work): his many occupations since his arrival in Leuven have kept Stapleton from writing even a single line; once Christmas time is over, he will resume the thread in the hope of accomplishing at least the winter part at the end of the summer, 1592. He provokes the Antwerp printer by not mentioning a possible publisher and by shelving the completion of the work. The priggish anaphora of 'Noli' (seven times!) grates especially on the nerves!

Between this tart letter and the even nastier one of 16 March, which is edited here, Stapleton seems to have written one more letter in which he informed Moretus that Balthasar Bellerus too had declined the publication of the *Defensio* against Whitaker and why he did so (cf. letter 17 bis, l. 20-21) and Johannes Moretus, for his part, must have sent at least one pithy reply (Stapleton refers to it as 'satis laconicum' in the opening sentence) in which he held his ground, in spite of the pique, spite and implicit threats that Stapleton's missing letter doubtless contained. Presumably Moretus must have replied to the effect that 'Well, since Balthasar Bellerus has turned you down too, why do you not address yourself to Petrus Bellerus, now that the latter apparently has already finished off your *Promptuarium Catholicum*'. Hence Stapleton's far more corrosive reaction in letter 17 bis, written on 16 March, 1592 which reached its addressee on 7 April.

## Text and Annotations

## 17 bis

92 03 16 Thomas Stapleton (Louvain) to Johannes Moretus (Antwerp)

March 16, 1592

Stapleton uses a whole arsenal of arguments to put pressure on Moretus to publish the *Defensio*. Moretus has referred him to Petrus Bellerus, because the latter has now finished the *Promptuarium Catholicum*. Yet, Bellerus has equal, and even greater right to point in the direction of Moretus, who has published and distributed the *Promptuarium Morale*. Furthermore, Moretus has made much money out of Stapleton's work and thus should feel obliged. Moretus should not forget that Stapleton might as well present the sequel of his *Promptuarium* to another printer: whoever rejects the smaller parts, shall not get the more important ones! Moretus should realise that every one of his colleagues will refer Stapleton to the *Officina Plantiniana*. Or he is, perhaps, lacking assertiveness as a Catholic! The heretics have the best printing houses at their disposal, whereas the defenders of true faith have to beg from door to door, before they can possibly find a printer of average quality. Further, Moretus should keep in mind that the *Defensio* has been dedicated to Cardinal Allen, who will be a very welcome acquaintance, once he has taken possession of his archbishopric. Or is Moretus, perhaps, willing to antagonize the Jesuit Fathers? Stapleton has presented his *Defensio* to Moretus only. The commercial hazards are none: the book might not sell that well in Spain, but everywhere else scholars are looking forward to seeing Whitaker put in his place. It is only a modest booklet; its author has quite a reputation; its subject is most noble. His opponent is the first Anglican to write religious controversy in Latin and he is held in high regard in his — and Stapleton's — native country. Moreover, Moretus has already published a similar treatise, by Johannes Lensaeus. Then comes a final threat: Moretus's refusal to publish the *Defensio* might provoke havoc between them! Stapleton is willing to grant him a delay of two months, though.

o: Brussels, Royal Library, MS. III 1483, no. 115; c: Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 95, no. 115<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> We considered it useless to enumerate in the critical apparatus the many errors of the late 19th-century handwritten copy.



- 1 Accepi responsum tuum satis laconicum et praeter expectationem. Reicis me ad P[etrum] Bellerum absoluto iam Promp[tuario] Catholico. At non ille aequo iure me ad te reiciet non solum absoluto, sed etiam distracto iam a te Prompt[uario] Morali? Si eum putas mihi aliquo modo obstric-
- 5 tum, quia Prompt[uar]ii Cath[oli]ci castigationes a me accepit, ideoque recusare nolle, quare non vides te multo magis obstructum qui primam editionem ipsumque autographum meum Prompt[uar]ii Moralis accepisti, et ex eo tam cito distracto rem luculentam fecisti, praeter subsidia pecuniaria ab Abbate Vedastino accepta me intercedente? Noli, mi
- 10 Morete, rem te indignam committere. Noli me iuste provocare ut alii quam tibi meum opus in festa Sanctorum atque etiam in ferias quadrages[imas] excudendum tradam. Qui minutiora scripta mea repudiat, non meretur certe ex maioris et certioris emolumenti laboribus meis lucrum facere. Sed et alii typographi ad te unum me reicient quem vident
- 15 ex meis lucrum fecisse luculentum. Noli tam male Catholicus esse ut haereticorum offensiones metuere videare, ideoque a meo opere excudendo abhorreas quod merito suspicaris in adversarium vehementer ferri. Noli committere ut haereticorum mendacia per optimos typographos excudantur et recudantur, Catholicorum autem defensiones apud

4 iam: *suprascr.* o 14 Sed ... luculentum: *add. o in marg.* 19 autem: *suprascr.* o

1 responsum tuum] Unfortunately, Moretus's answer to letter 17 (91 12 24) has not been preserved. 2 P[etrum] Bellerum] On Petrus Bellerus, see letter 17 (= 91 12 24), 32. 2 Promp[tuari]o Catholico] Its *editio princeps* was published by Michael Sonnius (Paris, 1589), cf. letter 1 (= 89 08 27); Stapleton had been rather disappointed by the poor quality of Sonnius's work. The first evidence of its possible reissue by the *Officina Plantiniana* popped up in letter 9 (91 06 07), on the occasion of its reprint in Lyons. Stapleton then suggested to Moretus that he might use his private, accurately corrected copy. The reissue of the *Promptuarium Catholicum* was also largely discussed in letter 11 (91 08 20), l. 15-16; three months later Moretus complained that one of his Antwerp colleagues had put the *Promptuarium Catholicum* to press, in spite of Stapleton's promises (letter 14, (91 11 13), l. 10-13). The work was published in two parts, in 8°, in 1592, cf. A. F. Allison — D. M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter Reformation between 1558-1640. An Annotated Catalogue. I. Works in Languages other than English* (Brookfield Vt.: Scholar Press, 1989), no. 1169. 8-9 subsidia ... Vedastino] On Abbot Saracenus's financial support for the printing of the *Promptuarium Morale*, see a. o. letters 7 (= [Fall 1590]), l. 8-14 and 8 (= 90 12 28), l. 22-34. The Archives of MPM also contain direct letters between the Abbot and the printer on this matter. On Johannes Saracenus (Jean Sarazin), Abbot of St Vaast since 1577, see De Landsheer, 'The Correspondence', *Introd.*, n. 16. 11 in festa Sanctorum] In letter 12 (91 08 28) Moretus had informed the Leuven theologian that he preferred to print the *Promptuarium Morale de Sanctis*, but as Stapleton never finished this sequel to the *Promptuarium Morale super evangelia dominicalia*, the work was completed some twenty years after his death by the Antwerp canon Lawrence Beyerlinck (cf. letter 12, n. 11).

- 20 typographorum officinas quasi ostiatim mendicare debeant, ut vix tandem apud aliquem mediocrem operas inveniant. Noli bonam gratiam amittere quam apud Ill[ustrissi]mum Card[inalem] Alanum, cui opus dicatur, hac occasione inire potes, virum qui tuis rebus percommodus esse possit, ubi in has partes ad suum Archiepisc[opatum]
- 25 Mechlin[iensem] descenderit. Noli alios amicos meos et fratres ipsos Societatis, quibus benevolus et amicus esse videri vis, hac tua recusatione offendere. Frustra illis Antverpiae et non vere narras te aliorum typographorum offensiones metuentem excusare. Balthasar Bellerus

27 ad te: *suprascr.* o

22 Card[inalem] Alanum] On William Allen (Lancaster, 1532 — Rome, 1594), who was created a cardinal by Pope Sixtus V in 1587, see De Landtsheer, 'The Correspondence', *Intro.*, n. 11. 22-23 cui ... dicatur] The dedicatory letter to *D. Guilielmo Alano S. R. E. Cardinali Angliae, tit. S. Martini in montibus, Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi designato* is dated 22 January, 1592. See *Autoritatis Ecclesiasticae circa S. Scripturarum approbationem ... contra disputationem de Scriptura Sacra Guilielmi Whitakeri Anglo Calvinistae in Academia Cantabrig[iensi] Professoris Regii* (Antwerp: Johannes Keerbergius, 1592), pp. 3-6. 24 Archiepisc[opatum] Mechlin[iensem]] After the decease of Johannes Hauchinus (Jean Hauchin), Archbishop of Mechelen, on 5 January, 1589, King Philip II designated William Allen, then staying in Rome, as his successor. The appointment, however, was never confirmed by the pope. Some three years later Pieter van Mansfelt, Governor-ad-interim of the Southern Netherlands after the decease of Alexander Farnese († 3-4 December, 1592), informed the Spanish king that he wanted to elevate the Antwerp Bishop Laevinus Torrentius to the archiepiscopal see (cf. J. Lefèvre, *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas. Deuxième partie: Recueil destiné à faire suite aux travaux de L. P. Gachard*, 4 vols (Brussels, 1940-1960), IV, 149-150). Torrentius, who was feeling his age and whose health was faltering, did not like the idea of starting all over again, when he had not yet accomplished the restoration of the Antwerp diocese. Hence he tried to delay his nomination. The archiepiscopal see remained vacant, while first Allen and then Torrentius passed away (respectively in 1594 and 1595); finally Matthias Hovius, vicar of the archbishopric, was appointed as Hauchinus's successor. He was enthroned on 18 February, 1596. Cf. P. Claessens, *Histoire des Archevêques de Malines*, 2 vols (Louvain, 1881), 1, 196-203 (on the troublesome succession of Hauchinus) and 209-251 (on Matthias Hovius, Mechelen, 1542 — Affligem, 1620). 25 fratres ... Societatis] Stapleton had a good relationship with the Jesuits, indeed. When still in Douai, he had supported Leonardus Lessius's controversial theories on grace. In the meantime, both Lessius and Stapleton had come to live in Leuven. Further, the Provincial Oliverius Manareus had agreed to ask the members of the Antwerp college to take the correction the printing proofs of Stapleton's *Promptuarium Morale* to heart (and possibly of the *Promptuarium Catholicum* as well, but the correspondence between Stapleton and Bellerus has not been preserved). See letter 3 (= 89 10 04), l. 18-22. As many Jesuits of the *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* confided the publication of their works, or of the religious books they needed, to the *Officina Plantiniana*, this argument held a formidable threat. 28 Balthasar Bellerus] On this Douai printer, see letter 17 (91 12 24), l. 23. He had purchased Stapleton's copy of Whitaker's *Disputatio* at the Frankfurt book fair (cf. *ibid.*, l. 24-26). The letter to which Stapleton is alluding, has not been preserved. Yet, in letter 19 (= 92 04 21), l. 70-76 the theologian blames Moretus because one of the reasons why

- librum remisit propter causas in meis ad te postremis relatas. Alii autem  
 30 typographorum nemini te excepto liber hic oblatus adhuc est. Noli tibi  
 ipse contrarius esse, qui per varias ad me literas te recusare negasti et  
 nunc tamen recusas. Si in Hispania liber venalis non est, at erit in Ger-  
 mania tota, erit in hoc Belgio, erit in Anglia. Si vera mihi patres Soci-  
 etatis narrant, in Germania haec mea defensio plurimum desideratur et  
 35 adversarius ipse, utcunque homo novus et incelebris, nunc tamen propter  
 Bellarminum et me, quos nominatim impugnat, per totam Germaniam  
 celebrescit. Non est quod metuas de maligna distractione. Modicum vo-  
 lumen erit. Author non est obscurus nec ignobilis. Argumentum est  
 nobilissimum, Catholicis gratissimum, haereticis maxime formidabile.  
 40 Primus iste ex Anglia haereticus est qui controversias religionis Latino  
 sermone tractavit. Apud nos magno in pretio habetur, professor Regius  
 et solus controversiarum magister. Si in D[omini] Beliolani gratiam dis-  
 putationem contra Sadeelem typis tuis dedisti, cur eam mihi contra  
 Whitakerum negas? Cogita adhuc semel et pressius (te rogo) rem hanc  
 45 totam expende, ne huius opusculi mei recusatio magnum inter te et me

30 oblatus [[erat]] o

Balthasar Bellerus had turned down his offer was that a letter from Moretus had made it clear that Stapleton had only addressed himself to Douai, because no Antwerp printer was willing to put the work to press. 33-34 Si ... Anglia] This counters Moretus's argument that he knows by experience that there is no market for refutations, cf. letter 14 (= 91 11 13), l. 9-10. 35-36 propter ... impugnat] Cf. the complete title of Whitaker's treatise: *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura, sex quaestionibus proposita, contra Bellarminum praecipue et Stapletonum* (Cambridge, 1588). On William Whitaker (1548-1595), see letter 13 (= 91 11 03), n. 3. 41-42 professor ... Magister] Whitaker was Master of St John's College, Cambridge and Royal Professor of Theology since 1580. In 1587 he was created Doctor of Theology. He was considered as the champion of the teaching of the Church in England; his lectures consisted mainly in refuting the arguments of the Church of Rome's theologians. 42 Beliolani] Beliolanus is a commonly used surname for the Leuven Royal Professor of Theology Johannes Lensaeus (Jan Lens), who was a native of Beloeil in Hainault (Belgium), cf. letter 11 (91 08 20), l. 2. 42-43 disputationem ... Sadeelem] Stapleton refers to *De verbo Dei non scripto seu traditionibus Ecclesiasticis, contra scholasticam Antonii Sadeelis De verbo Dei scripto Disputationem libri III* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1591), dedicated to the Antwerp Bishop Laevinus Torrentius. This is a confirmation of the hypothesis in letter 11, n. 1. 43 Sadeelem] Sadeel (or Sadiel), Hebrew for *God's acre*, was a pseudonym for pastor and Protestant theologian Antoine Laroche de Chandieu (c. 1534 — Geneva, 1591). He studied Law in Toulouse and Geneva, where he met Jean Calvin and Theodore de Bèze. Under their influence he devoted himself to the reformed cause and became a pastor in Paris in 1556. In 1572 he escaped the massacre of St Bartholomew and fled to Lausanne. Shortly afterwards he moved to Geneva, where he occupied the chair of Hebrew from 1584 onwards. He was the author of treatises mainly of controversia and ecclesiastical history. In 1598 the whole body of his Latin works was edited posthumously by his son under the title *Opera Theologica*. Cf. *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933-), VIII (1959), 369.

chaos posthac constituat. Si non potes statim rem aggredi, expectabo libenter ad duos adhuc menses, modo illis elapsis certam tuam operam mihi pollicere.

Bene vale et quod scribis amare te me, re ipsa ostende. Raptim Lovanii,  
50 16 Martij 1592.

Amicus ex animo tuus Tho[mas] Stapletonus.

[Address:] Joanni Moreto typographo in Officina Plantiniana, Antverpiae.

55 [Scribae manu:] 1592 ad 7 Aprilis Thom[as] Stapletonus.

### Commentary

This angry letter reached Moretus on 7 April and he reacted promptly, on 11 April (letter 18). The repeated crossings and corrections in the draft, as well as the fact that a copy of the letter as it was sent, was preserved in the *Officina Plantiniana*'s Archives, is a proof of the great care with which Moretus phrased and rephrased his reaction. He was aware that the affair had become a stalemate. He did not want to lose a — from the commercial point of view — promising author by a point-blank refusal, but, on the other hand, he was not disposed to put up meekly with Stapleton's nasty digs and let himself be forced into what he considered a hazardous publication. Thus the printer went through Stapleton's letter point by point, meeting his arguments, sometimes even quoting the theologian's very words, and not shrinking from unmasking its mean traits, as becomes clear by comparing letters 17 bis and 18<sup>10</sup>.

Stapleton's opening sneer 'Accepi responsum tuum satis laconicum et praeter expectationem' (l. 1) finds its match in Letter 18, 3-5: although Moretus thinks an answer hardly necessary, he has written a few words (quite a long letter, though!) to avoid being at cross-purposes 'ne tamen silentium meum ... in malam partem acciperet'. Already in the first (preserved) letter about the publication of the *Defensio*, the theologian had further hinted that Moretus was keeping silent because he was not willing to comply with his wishes (letter 13

48 mihi: *suprascr.* 0

<sup>10</sup> For this comparison we made use of the second version of letter 18, since we consider it a copy of the reply as it was finally sent.

(= 91 11 03), l. 1-9), a complaint which was retorted to immediately by Moretus (letter 14 (= 91 11 13), l. 13-14).

Then follows an almost literal quotation: 'ex eo [= *Promptuario Morali*] tam cito distracto rem luculentam fecisti' (letter 17 bis, l. 6) becomes 'Ex Promptuarii Moralis distractione rem luculentam me fecisse scribit [Dominatio Tua]' (letter 18, l. 5-6). Stapleton's assertion is countered by the contention that only a small quantity had been printed<sup>11</sup>; and, since Moretus had been working from the manuscript, which was more time-consuming and demanded higher labour costs than from a printed version, only a subsequent edition might bring some profits. Moreover, books which remain on the shelves elsewhere, are not profitable either.

With the verbal repetition of Stapleton's 'Noli, mi Morete, rem te indignam committere' (letter 17 bis, 7-8) in letter 18, l. 12 ('scribit D[ominatio] Tua ut videam ne quid indignum me committam'), Moretus attacks another of the theologian's arguments: he is doing his utmost to satisfy everyone, but he is up to his ears in work. In the meantime he has already started the second edition of the *Promptuarium Morale*, as his correspondent should know, but even if he keeps his presses at work unremittingly, there is no chance to get it ready in time for the autumn book fair. Other authors as well expect their works to be available in Frankfurt; some of them have even advanced some money to meet the cost of the printing! If Stapleton's manuscript had reached him at the same time as Lensaeus's (Stapleton had referred to this refutation in l. 33), his work might have appeared now as well. Finally, his correspondent is quite well aware of all kinds of practical problems he has to cope with: the supply of paper, continuous robberies of the merchants, the craftsmen's attitude. The silent conclusion is that Stapleton is behaving highly unreasonably.

The rebuke that Moretus is a tepid Catholic and afraid of the criticism of heretics — 'Noli tam male catholicus esse ut haereticorum offensiones metuere videre' (letter 17 bis, l. 11-12) — is repeated in the form of an indignant rhetorical question. A fat lot he cares! With God's help they cannot bother him (letter 18, l. 36-38).

The threatening suggestion that Moretus is cutting his own throat when he declines to publish a treatise dedicated to the future Archbishop

<sup>11</sup> In fact, according to the sales catalogue 1250 copies came from the press, which was certainly not a small number. See Antwerp, MPM, Ms. 39, f. 11v, books 6 and 7.

of Mechelen, was compounded by a reference to the Jesuits (letter 17 bis, l. 19-20). Once again, Moretus counters by turning Stapleton's very words into a rhetorical question. The flat 'hac tua recusatione' is dexterously commuted into 'si librum quem imprimere *nunc* non possum, recusem?' and Moretus sneers back that they, at least, know better than to take the offense personally and besides, they are sincerely concerned about the state of his affairs, instead of insisting that he should undertake more than he can cope with (letter 18, l. 28-33). Moretus is particularly vexed by Stapleton's veiled charge of hypocrisy ('quibus benevolus et amicus esse videri vis') and he snaps back: 'ego vero in ipsos omnes eo animo sum affectus, quo semper hactenus fui, ac credo eodem ipsos in me, nec alius unquam videri quam esse volo. Absit, absit a me hypocrisis ista cuius notam inurere mihi D[ominatio] T[ua] videtur' (letter 18, l. 33-36).

Stapleton's complaint that Moretus has published Lensæus's refutation against Sadeel, so why should he not do the same for his *Defensio* against Whitaker (letter 17 bis, l. 32-33), is laconically turned back by pointing out that if Stapleton had delivered his manuscript much earlier, it might be ready now (letter 18, l. 20).

In the closing sentences of his letter (l. 34-35), Stapleton gives the unwilling Antwerp printer an unmistakable warning: Moretus's refusal might rupture any possible contacts; and he condescends to grant the printer two more months of respite ('ne huius opusculi mei recusatio magnum inter te et me chaos posthac constituat', l. 35-36). Moretus renders a verbatim quotation of the first part, venting his astonishment and hurt at these words, and underlining that they seem to be less than appropriate coming from a Master of Theology, who always has his mouth full of fraternal love and Christian charity. Stapleton should rather be understanding, instead of being exacerbated because Moretus is not prepared to give a promise he will never be able to keep. Then he changes his tune and launches an elaborate *captatio benevolentiae*, assuring Stapleton that he will do his best to find a solution — a willing colleague — for the present work. On a future occasion he will not disappoint the theologian.

## Conclusion

Although Moretus was toning down the sharpness of his refusal by offering to look for a substitute and by pleading for at least a few

months' delay, he definitely refused to have his ears boxed by a pompous Leuven theologian on his high horse. Thomas Stapleton, in turn, was not calmed down by Moretus's answer and chaos was created indeed (the sentence was even repeated once more, see letter 19 (92 04 21), l. 14-15). One and a half months later, the theologian turned down another, now submissive, letter full of apologies from Moretus, in which he repeated his offer to start the printing of the *Defensio* after the autumn book fair (letter 20 = 92 05 09). A triumphant Stapleton informed him that his remorse came to late: Johannes Keerbergius had promised to have the *Defensio* ready for the spring fair and had already started printing. Consequently, Stapleton would entrust him with the publication of his later works as well, and though Moretus tried to re-establish the business contacts with the Leuven theologian by sending him precious books time and again, it was only after Stapleton had gone to his final reward that the *Officina Plantiniana* was able to put another of his works to press, viz. the *Vere Admiranda seu de magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae* (Antwerp, 1599), which had been prepared for the printer by Christophe d' Assonleville (1528-1607), Councillor President of the Council of State and favorably disposed towards Moretus.<sup>12</sup>

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## ARNOLDUS A BOECOP UND EIN BAND MIT GEDENKSCHRIFTEN AN JUSTUS LIPSII

Mein Vater, Dr. phil. Paul Ludwig (1890-1987)<sup>1</sup>, schenkte mir zu meinem 50. Geburtstag 1979 einen von ihm im westdeutschen Antiquariatshandel erworbenen Band mit mehreren zumeist 1607 gedruckten Gedenkschriften an Justus Lipsius, der sowohl durch seinen Inhalt als auch wegen seiner Vorbesitzer und seiner handschriftlichen Zusätze ein besonderes Interesse verdient.

Der Band hat einen zeitgenössischen glatten Pergamenteinband (26,3 x 19 cm) mit überstehenden Kanten, auf dessen 3,6 cm breiten Rücken die Kurztitel der in ihm enthaltenen Druckschriften mit Tinte in jetzt in den unteren Zeilen und den Rändern etwas verblaßten Majuskeln geschrieben sind (die im folgenden verwendeten Nummern der betreffenden Schriften sind in Klammern hinzugefügt): [1] FAMA POSITIVA; [2] DOLLARI ASSER. [3] PRINCIPATUS [4] INFERIAE. VINDICIAE. [5] PVTEAINI LAV-DATIO. [6] EPICEDIA. [7] RVBENI ELECTA POEMATA.

Es handelt sich um sieben Schriften in Quartformat, die wegen der folgenden Untersuchungen mit allen Datierungen bibliographisch aufgeführt seien:

[1] IVSTI LIPSI SAPIENTIAE ET LITTERARVM ANTISTITIS Fama postuma [Plantin-Signet] ANTVERPIAE, EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA Apud Ioannem Moretum M.DC. VII. (Mit Porträtkupferstich, gezeichnet und gestochen von Theodor Galle; Censura von Laurentius Beyerlinck, datiert Antwerpen 13. II. 1607, Privilegium von Buschere, datiert Brüssel 21. II 1607), [4] Bl., 114 S., [1] Bl.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Er war damals Studiendirektor i. R. des Eberhard-Ludwig-Gymnasiums in Stuttgart; 1982 erhielt er vom Ministerpräsidenten des Landes Baden-Württemberg ehrenhalber den Titel eines Professors. Er schrieb gerne lateinische Verse. Sein Interesse galt unter anderem den klassischen Autoren und den großen Humanisten, deren Werke er in alten Ausgaben sammelte. Zu seiner Biographie vgl. Walther Ludwig, *Vorfahren von Paul Ludwig*, Deutsches Familienarchiv, 116 (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1994), S. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. F. Vander Haeghen — M.-Th. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, 7 Bde. (Brüssel 1964-1975; im folgenden abgekürzt: BBr), III, L 548a; Dirk Sacré in G. Tournoy, J. Papy, J. De Landtsheer (Hrsg.), *Lipsius en Leuven*,



[2] ASSERTIO || LIPSIANI DONARI || ADVERSVS || GELASTORVM SVGGILLATIONES || [Plantin-Signet] || ANTVERPIAE, || EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, || Apud Ioannem Moretum || M.DC.VII. || (Widmungsbrief gezeichnet von Ioannes VVoverius Antverpiensis, Censura von Laurentius Beyerlinck ohne Datum, Privilegium von Buschere ohne Datum), 30 S., [1 l.w.] Bl.<sup>3</sup>

[3] IVSTI LIPSI || PRINCIPATVS || LITTERARIVS, || à GAVGERICO RIVIO IC. & in supremâ || Curiâ Belgicâ Mechliniae causarum Patrono, || scriptus ad ritum priscum. || [Plantin-Signet] || ANTVERPIAE, || EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, || Apud Ioannem Moretum. || M.DC.VII. || (Widmungsbrief von Gaugericus Rivius, datiert Mecheln 25. I. 1607, Approbatio von Laurentius Beyerlinck, datiert Antwerpen 25. I. 1607, Privilegium von Buschere ohne Datum) 30 S., [1] Bl.<sup>4</sup>

[4] IVSTO LIPSIO || Inferiae || IOSEPHO SCALIGERO || Vindiciae || A LEYDENSIBVS ACADEMICIS || DATAE. || [ohne Ort (Antwerpen?), Drucker (Officina Plantiniana?) und Jahr (1607/09), ohne Censura und Privilegium] 16 S.

[5] ERYCI PVTEANI || LIPSIONEMA || ANNIVERSARIVM, || SIVE || IVSTI LIPSI V.C. Laudatio Funebris, || Die anniversario habita. || ITEM || NICOLAI OVDARTI || In Manes LIPSI Secundi Adfectus. || [Plantin-Signet] || ANTVERPIAE, || EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, || Apud Ioannem Moretum. || M.DC. || (Widmungsbrief von Erycius Puteanus, datiert Leuven 20. V. 1607, Censura von Laurentius Beyerlinck, datiert Antwerpen 13. VI. 1607, Privilegium von Buschere ohne Datum) VII, 28 S., [1] Bl.<sup>5</sup>

[6] EPICEDIA || IN || OBITVM || Clarissimi & summi viri || IUSTI LIPSII. || [griech. Epigramm, Phoenix-Signet] || LVGDVNI BATAVORVM || APVD IOHANNEM MAIRE. || M.D.CVII. || (ohne Censura oder Privilegium) 38 S., [1] Bl.

[7] PHILIPPI RVBENI || ELECTORVM || LIBRI II. || In quibus antiqui Ritus, Emendationes, Censurae. || EIVSDEM || ad IVSTVM LIPSIVM Poematia. || [Plantin-Signet] || ANTVERPIAE, ||

*Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september - 17 oktober 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 13 (Leuven, 1997), Nr. 97, und ders. in R. Dusoir, J. De Landtsheer, D. Imhof (Hrsg.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) en het Plantijnse Huis*, Publicaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 37 (Antwerpen, 1997), Nr. 72 und 73.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. BBr III, L 548b; Sacré, in *Lipsius en Leuven*, Nr. 99; ders., in *Justus Lipsius*, Nr. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. BBr III L 548c; Sacré, in *Lipsius en Leuven*, Nr. 100; ders., in *Justus Lipsius*, Nr. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Sacré, in *Lipsius en Leuven*, Nr. 98; ders., in *Justus Lipsius*, Nr. 74.

EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, || Apud Ioannem Moretum. || M.DC.VIII. || (mit 5 Kupfertafeln nach Peter Paul Rubens, gestochen von Cornelius Galle, und 1 kleineren Textkupfer; Censura von Laurentius Beyerlinck, datiert Antwerpen 13. XI. 1607, Privilegium von Buschere, datiert Brüssel 15. XI. 1607) [8] Bl., 124 S., [2] Bl.

Es sind sämtlich Erstausgaben. Die Schrift *Fama* [1], ist von Balthasar Moretus konzipiert und initiiert. Sie enthält lateinische und griechische Gedichte von sehr vielen Autoren<sup>6</sup>, darunter auch von Philipp Rubens<sup>7</sup>, dem Moretus am 7. April 1606 geschrieben hatte, um ihm eine solche Sammlung von *Epicedia* und *Laudationes* auf den am 23. März 1606 verstorbenen Lipsius vorzuschlagen und um ihn zu bitten, solche Texte bei seinen Freunden zu sammeln. Er selbst wollte sich dann um ihre Veröffentlichung in der Officina Plantiniana kümmern<sup>8</sup>. Es finden sich in der *Fama* auch eine Reihe von Gedichten, die sich gegen eine schon 1606 erschienene Schrift zu Lipsius' Tod, die ironisch-satirische Invektive eines anonym bleibenden Calvinisten gegen ihn, richten<sup>9</sup>. Die laut dem vorangestellten Widmungsbrief von *Ioannes Woverius Antverpiensis*<sup>10</sup> verfaßte *Assertio* [2], bekämpft dann diese Invektive in einer Prosa-Schrift. Der von Gaugericus Rivius verfaßte *Principatus* [3], fügt eine allgemeine Würdigung der wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung von Lipsius in Prosa hinzu. Nach den Zensur-Angaben sind diese drei Drucke in der Officina Plantiniana Januar bis März 1607 erschienen. Sie werden mehrfach zusammengebunden überliefert. In einigen dieser Exemplare ist dann noch die Schrift des Erycius Puteanus *Lipsiognema* [5], beige-bunden, die eine Gedenkrede zum Jahrestag des Todes von Lipsius und ein entsprechendes Gedicht von Nicolaus Oudartus enthält und in derselben Officina im Juni 1607 gedruckt wurde. Die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser vier Schriften wird auch dadurch dokumentiert, daß die Schrift *Fama* [1], erweitert und unter Einschluß der Schriften *Assertio* [2], *Principatus* [3], und *Lipsiognema* [5], 1613 neu aufgelegt wurde

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. die Inhaltsübersicht in BBr III, L 548, S. 1111-1113.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. zu Philipp Rubens (1574-1611), dem Bruder des Malers Peter Paul Rubens, M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, N. J., 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Der Brief ist zitiert in BBr III, S. 1113.

<sup>9</sup> *Iusti Lipsii Epitaphium, Manes, Symbolum et alia quaedam, Ex officina Pyragmonis subterranea Anno MDCVI*, dazu [1], S. 84-119.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Johannes Woverius aus Antwerpen (1576- 1636 [?]) Morford (wie Anm. 7), S. 41-51. Er ist zu unterscheiden von dem gleichnamigen Hamburger (vgl zu ihm: Luc Deitz, 'Ioannes Wower of Hamburg, Philologist and Polymath, A Preliminary Sketch of his Life and Works', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), 132-151.

und in dieser Form auch in die 1614 veröffentlichten *Opera omnia* von Lipsius aufgenommen wurde; außerdem wurde sie 1629 so noch einmal separat gedruckt<sup>11</sup>. Seltener findet sich bei diesen Schriften auch die anonyme Schrift *Inferiae* [4], die sich invektivisch und von einem jesuitischen Standpunkt aus mit den in Leiden erschienenen *Epicedia*, [6], auseinandersetzt und nach ihrem Druckbild auch in der Officina Plantiniana gedruckt wurde, ohne daß sich diese jedoch dazu bekennen wollte. Das vorliegende Exemplar zeichnet sich dadurch aus, daß es nicht nur die Antwerpener Gedenkschriften [1]-[3] und [5] und die vermutlich auch dort gedruckte Schrift *Inferiae*, [4], enthält, sondern auch die im calvinistischen Leiden veröffentlichte Sammlung *Epicedia* [6], die — von einem anonymen Herausgeber zusammengestellt — Gedichte von Josephus Scaliger, Bonaventura Vulcanius, Dominicus Baudius, Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius und Petrus Scriverius bringt. Angebunden wurde hier schließlich noch der auch in der Plantiniana 1608 erschienene Band [7] von Philipp Rubens, der neben seinen philologischen *Electa*, zu denen sein Bruder Peter Paul Rubens die Zeichnungen für die von Cornelius Galle gestochenen Tafeln beigezeichnet hat, auch Philipps Gedichte auf Lipsius enthält. Eine so vollständige Zusammenstellung nahezu aller Gedenkschriften auf Lipsius ist sonst anscheinend nicht belegt und sicher äußerst selten.

Der durch seine Reichhaltigkeit auffällige Sammelband wird durch seine Provenienz und seine handschriftlichen Eintragungen sowie durch ein beigegebundenes Manuskriptblatt noch bemerkenswerter. Drei Vorbesitzer haben ihre Spuren hinterlassen.

Auf der am Anfang stehenden Titelseite von *Fama* [1], ist zwischen den Worten LITTERARVM und ANTISTITIS mit Tinte in einer sehr kleinen etwas nach rechts geschragten Kursivschrift ein Satz eingetragen worden, dessen erste Hälfte zwar durch Rasur unlesbar gemacht wurde, dessen zweite Hälfte man aber unangetastet ließ. Sie lautet: *dono D. Arnoldi a Boecop. Ao. 1610*. Für die erste Satzhälfte ist danach ein Text zu vermuten etwa wie: *Hunc librum possidet [...] [...]*. Hiermit ist gesichert, daß der Jonker Arent thoe Boecop, der sich lateinisch Arnoldus a Boecop nannte<sup>12</sup>, bis 1610 der Besitzer dieses Bandes war, und es

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. dazu insgesamt BBr III, L 547-551, und Sacré (wie Anm. 2).

<sup>12</sup> Die biographischen Artikel in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Bd. 3 (Leiden, 1914), S. 127, s. v. Arent toe Boecop, und in: C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brüssel-Paris, 1890), Bd. 1, Sp. 1567 s. v. Arnould van Boecop, sind überholt durch die sorgfältige Darstellung von J. Barten S. J., 'Het Proces van

darf angenommen werden, daß er selbst die Schriften auch zusammengestellt hatte und binden ließ.

Er war aus einem adligen Geschlecht am 24. Juni 1584 in dem zum damaligen Herzogtum Geldern gehörenden Zutphen geboren, besuchte dort die Lateinschule, verlor seinen wohlhabenden Vater schon 1596, immatrikulierte sich am 15. März 1606 als Student der Rechtswissenschaft in Leiden, hielt sich 1609-1610 im Haus seiner verwitweten Mutter in Zutphen auf<sup>13</sup> und schrieb 1609 einen Dialog, der später unter dem Titel *Iustus Lipsius Catholicus sive de vera Iusti Lipsii religione catholica Dialogus Arnoldi a Boecop Usipiolitani* veröffentlicht wurde. Er schrieb am 15. März (= 26 März gregorianisch) 1610 aus Zutphen über diese Schrift an Balthasar Moretus in Antwerpen<sup>14</sup>:

S. M. M. D. [Salutem maximam dico.] Doct<issi>me vir, litteras tuas cum libello recepi et hoc indicare volui. Magni illius viri FAMAM POSTHUMAM, etiam a me augeri et celebrari posse putas; ego nego. Maxima est et ad coelum, imo in coelo, eius gloria. Composui tamen ante annum, doctius nescio an felicius, sane insigni pietate ductus libellum De Vera J. Lipsii Religione Catholica eiusdemque laudabili amore et approbatione melioris, indignatione et reiectione mollioris fidei. Et docui quomodo ille μακαρίτης noster numquam neque in Germania neque in Batavia defecerit et quomodo boni se gerere, mali corrigere debeant. Omnia cum laudabili adfectu, utinam etiam conatu! Si animus est aut seorsim aut cum Fama Postuma aut etiam non emittere, fac sciam.

Unmittelbar danach weiht er Moretus in ein Geheimnis ein:

Jonker Arent thoe Boecop S. J. Hagiograaf en Martelaar', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 3 (1961), 269-294; 4 (1962), 41-55, 259- 294 (mit einer Abbildung des "P. Arnoldus à Boecop" gegenüber S. 259 nach: M. Tanner S. J., *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinem et vitae profusionem militans...* [Prag, 1675], S. 93), auf die mich Dirk Sacré hinwies.

<sup>13</sup> Dirk Sacré machte mich auf seinen Brief an Balthasar Moretus, datiert *Zutphaniae Usipiorum XIIIX Kalend. Octobris Anni M.DC.IX*, in der Königlichen Bibliothek in Brüssel (ms. III 1483, n. 28) aufmerksam. Dieser Aufenthalt in Zutphen wird auch für den hier beschriebenen Band von Bedeutung sein, in dem Boecop mit der Ortsangabe Zutphen die Daten des 15. Mai (= 26. Mai gregorianisch) und des 28. August (= 8. September gregorianisch) eingetragen hat. Am 15. März 1610 (= 26. März gregorianisch) schrieb er aus Zutphen den unten zitierten Brief an Balthasar Moretus (s. Anm. 14).

<sup>14</sup> Der Brief wird teilweise zitiert in BBr III, L 549, 8. Dirk Sacré vermittelte mir auf meine Bitte durch die Freundlichkeit von Drs. Dirk Imhof eine Xeroxkopie des ganzen Briefes, der sich im Plantin-Moretus-Museum in Antwerpen (MPM Arch. 77, fol. 395) befindet. Ich danke Dirk Sacré für eine Überprüfung des Originals und eine Verbesserung meiner Lesungen an mehreren Stellen. Er machte auch darauf aufmerksam, daß der julianische Kalender in Zutphen bis ins 18. Jahrhunderte verwendet wurde.

Ego nunc cum bono Deo Embricam, Ubios, Treverim ibo, a Deo meo vocatus, ut accensar [*sic* = accensear] ijs, quibus Lipsius olim Coloniae Agrippinensis voluisset, nisi noluissent parentes, reduxissent et alio amandassent. Faxit Deus et Deipara Virgo, ut volente Eventu possim. Subducam enim me nequicquam tale suspicante matre atque omnibus amicis insciis, quamvis unicus, quamvis dives, quamvis antiqua stirpe nobilis, paucis tantum Societatis Patribus consciis. Et quid est, quod me detineat aut defigat in mundo apud hos infernalis Cerberi catulos? apud haec liliata<sup>15</sup> monstra? Sollicitor vane ad matrimonium, allicior ad Rempubicam, sed animus abnuit, imo Deus abnuit et sibi destinat. Pareo igitur et placet DEUM SEQUI ET OBSEQUI: Sic haec habe, ne vel verbum audiat plebanus et fama ad nos deferat, antequam ego abierim. Si scribere ad me placet literas Embricam curabis ad Collegium Societatis, et poteris, ni fallor, per vestros ibi Patres. Vale aeternum, mi Morete, et salutem cum foenore Philippo Rubenio. Sed quid? en ad eundem litteras! Offer et excusa temeritatem. Zutphaniae Usipiorum Idibus Martiis anni M.DC.X. Tui amantissimus Arnoldus a Boecop, ἀνάγκραμμα:> A coelo probandus.

Boecop plante also insgeheim, sich nach Emmerich, Köln und Trier zu begeben und in den Jesuitenorden einzutreten. Er machte diesen Voratz wahr und wurde am 23. Oktober 1610 Novize in Trier. Vor seiner Abreise in sein neues Dasein hat er vermutlich einige Abschiedsgeschenke verteilt und dabei auch den Band mit den Gedenkschriften an Lipsius einem Freund geschenkt. Aus der Eintragung, die Boecop noch als *D[ominus]* bezeichnet, geht hervor, daß er den Band 1610 noch vor seinem Eintritt in die Gesellschaft Jesu verschenkte. Moretus nahm Boecops *Dialogus* 1613 in seine oben erwähnte zweite Auflage der *Fama postuma* auf. Nach einem zweijährigen Noviziat in Trier studierte Boecop zwei Jahre Logik und Physik in Würzburg, ein Jahr Metaphysik in Trier, wurde 1615 Logiklehrer am Jesuitencolleg in Emmerich, 1516 Theologiestudent in Mainz und dort nach vier Jahren zum Priester geweiht. In Mainz ließ er 1620 *Assertiones ex universa theologia* auf 14 Blättern drucken. Im September 1620 begab er sich auf eine Reise nach Zutphen, wo er wieder im Haus seiner Mutter wohnte und dort für Gläubige auch die Messe las. Er wurde jedoch im Juli 1621 überraschend unter falschen Anschuldigungen von den calvinistischen Behörden in Arnheim gefangen genommen und vom dortigen Geldrischen Gerichtshof im August zu einer Geldstrafe verurteilt und aus dem Gebiet der

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. zu dem unklassischen Wort René Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden u. a., 1994), S. 203, s. v. liliatus.

Vereinigten Niederlande verbannt, weil er es ohne deren Erlaubnis betreten hatte. Am 19. Februar 1622 starb er in Köln, vermutlich an den Folgen der Gefängnishaft und nicht an einer ihm absichtlich zugefügten Vergiftung, wie lange angenommen wurde. Die Jesuiten glaubten, daß Protestanten ihn vergiftet hätten, die Protestanten, daß er sich selbst getötet habe.

Der Name des Freundes, dem Boecop 1610 seinen Lipsius-Band geschenkt hatte (und bei der Bedeutung dieses Bandes ist anzunehmen, daß es ein guter Freund war), ist unbekannt, da sein Name bei einem späteren Besitzerwechsel getilgt wurde. Auffälligerweise wollte man aber die Herkunft des Bandes von Arnoldus a Boecop nicht löschen. Er war für den neuen Besitzer wohl noch eine bekannte Persönlichkeit.

Von einem späteren Besitzer, der vielleicht auch die Rasur vornehmen ließ, stammt ein eingeklebtes in Kupfer gestochenes Wappenexlibris auf der Rückseite des Titelblatts von *Fama* [1]. Es zeigt auf einem Band unter dem Wappen den Namen DE KRIFTTENSTEIN und ein spätbarockes Wappenbild. Der Schild ist geteilt, heraldisch rechts ein steigender Krebs, links ein aufgerichteter Löwe, der einen runden Stein in seinen Vorderpranken hält. Über dem Schild stehen zwei offene Helme mit Helmdecken, die Helmzier des rechten ist eine Krebschere, die des linken sind drei Straußenfedern. Das Wappen stammt von dem katholischen Friedrich Joachim von Krifftenstein, der als kurfürstlich trierischer Wirklicher Rat mit dem Namen Friedrich Joachim Krifft am 2. Oktober 1769 in Wien mit diesem Wappen und der Bezeichnung "Edler von Krifftenstein" in den Adelsstand erhoben wurde und dessen Adel am 27. Januar 1770, als er kurfürstlich sächsischer Assistenzrat geworden war, die kurfürstlich sächsische Anerkennung erhielt. Das ihm verliehene Wappen zeigt einen roten Krebs auf goldenem und eine silbernen Löwen mit einem natürlichen Stein auf blauem Grund sowie jeweils rot/goldene und blau/silberne Helmdecken, eine rote Krebschere und eine blaue, eine silberne und eine blaue Straußenfeder.<sup>16</sup> Vermutlich hat Friedrich Joachim von Krifftenstein den Lipsius-Band noch in seiner Trierer Zeit erworben. Spätere Besitzereintragungen sind in dem Band nicht vorhanden.

<sup>16</sup> S. Walter von Hueck, *Adelslexikon*, Bd. 7, Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels, 97 (Limburg, 1989), S. 21-22; Karl Friedrich von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die österreichischen Erblande bis 1806...*, Bd. 3 (Senftenegg, 1972), S. 80. Nach einer freundlichen Auskunft von Dr. von Hueck besitzt das Deutsche Adelsarchiv, Marburg, keine weiteren Unterlagen über die von Krifftenstein.

Jedoch sind noch mehrere andere handschriftliche Eintragungen festzuhalten. In *Inferiae* [4], ist am Ende des gedruckten Textes auf S. 16 neben die letzte Zeilenhälfte auf zwei Zeilen mit einer kleinen sorgfältigen Buchschrift geschrieben: *Zutph. Idibus Maiis Anno M.DC.IX.* || *Vsipiopoli V. Kalend. Septemb. M.DC.IX.* Usipiopolis ist der lateinische Namen für Zutphen. Da Boecop den Band 1610 abgab, selbst aus Zutphen stammte und am 25. September 1609 und am 26. März 1610 dort bezeugt ist, ist anzunehmen, daß er die beiden Daten (15. Mai [= 26. Mai gregorianisch] und 28. August [= 8. September gregorianisch] 1609) selbst schrieb. Ein Schriftvergleich mit dem Brief vom 15. März 1610 bestätigt diese Annahme. Der Brief ist zwar flüchtiger geschrieben, aber besonders bei den Majuskeln ist die Identität der Schreiber unverkennbar.

In *Epicedia* [6], ist in einer kleinen Kursive von der Hand, die die Besitzereintragung... *dono D. Arnoldi a Boecop. Ao. 1610* auf der Titelseite von *Fama* [1], geschrieben hat, auf dem Rand von S. 3 neben den Anfang des an den Leser gerichteten Vorwort-Briefes geschrieben: *Ad hanc epistolam responsionem* || *lege ante titulo Iusto Lipsio* || *Inferiae Iosepho Scaligero* || *Vindiciae a Leidensibus* || *Academicis datae.* || Der Freund Boecops, der seit 1610 den Band besaß, machte also darauf aufmerksam, daß sich der Verfasser von *Inferiae* [4], mit dem Brief in *Epicedia* [6], — kritisch — auseinandersetzt, wies also ausdrücklich auf die katholische Stimme zu dem calvinistischen Vorwort von [6] hin.

In *Epicedia* [6], ist ferner zwischen S. 38, auf der das letzte der Gedichte von Petrus Scriverius steht, und dem letzten unnummerierten Blatt, dessen Vorderseite das von Lipsius für sich selbst verfaßte Epitaphium bringt, ein handschriftlich mit Tinte beschriebenes Blatt (21 x 15 cm) eingebunden. Da der Band im Auftrag von Boecop gebunden wurde, muß er selbst die Einbindung veranlaßt haben. Die Schrift ist eine elegante Kursive. Ein Schriftvergleich mit Boecops Brief vom 26. März 1615 zeigt, daß Boecop auch diesen Text, auch wenn er etwas sorgfältiger geschrieben wurde als jener Brief, geschrieben hat. Er lautet:

[R°] En iterum ad te spicam aridam et tenuem, post meum illam uberrimam, quid nisi affectus iubet conferre? Pronum hunc et promptum tumide produco; illam timide, imo nec timide cum te video, apud quem errare licet impune. de cuius animo exploratum qui ut vere non iudicet, ita ut severe iudicet, induci non potest. Non potest, dixi? Imo et hoc amici proprium, ut vere ita

severe iudicare. At in grandioribus et gravioribus cautionis tam acutae accurataeque usus est. Hic in re exili fave. Sic meum hoc habe, et have.

De Idea Lipsiana eiusdemque Genio.

Est immensum, hominis quod habet solertia; namque

Ut sprete Naturae parentis

Conditio semel est opusque:

Terrasque tractusque maris, caelumque profundum

[5] Angusta censet, ac negata

Inque aliena elementa profert

Imperium; affectans adeo immortalia: vires

Neceßitatem lethi in ipsam

Ausa suas etiam experiri.

[10] Corporis atque animi hinc quia Fato cederet ipsa

Compago: litterae librique,

Queis foret ingenium superstes;

Signaque sunt inventa, quibus post funera corpus,

Post mortem et eßet mortis exsors.

[15] Mors tibi nil hominis relictum.

Tabifluæ hospitium cratis namque Aura relinquens

Coelo hausta, Numinis propago

Mox Patrium repetit Serenum.

Corpus iners bustis infers feralibus? illud

[20] Fit parte non ima superstes,

Effigie quia spirat ipsa.

[V°] Sic neque terrenos oculis tu subtrahis artus?

Quid LIPSII nobis ademptum?

Est reliquum Decus illud aevi.

[25] Laudibus usque novis evincet nominis annos

Secli Lepos, famamque ab alto

Semo novus sibi ducet aevo.

Was kann diesen handschriftlichen Zutaten entnommen werden? Zum Verständnis des Gedichts *De Idea Lipsiana eiusdemque Genio* ist es nötig, einen weiteren Blick auf den Inhalt der *Epicedia* [6], zu werfen. Der als Vorwort dienende Brief auf S. 3-6, der mit *DOCTO LECTORI ET CANDIDO S.* überschrieben ist, endet ohne Namensnennung mit *Vale*. Es folgen dann die Gedichte von Iosephus Scaliger (S. 7-16), Bonaventura Vulcanius (S. 17), Dominicus Baudius (S.18-21), Daniel Heinsius (S. 22-34), Hugo Grotius (S. 35-36) und Petrus Scriverius (S. 37-38). Das handschriftliche Gedicht ist deutlich von einigen dieser Gedichte beeinflusst und hat Worte und Wendungen aus ihnen übernommen.

Der Titel *De Idea Lipsiana eiusdemque Genio* hat seine nächste und in der Sammlung einzige Parallele in dem *Ad Genium Ideae Lipsianae*



betitelten Gedicht von Heinsius (S. 33), das mit der Anrede *Pater leporis aurei, novumque mel Deorum*, beginnt (vgl. dort auch V. 13 *Tuos adire perfurit reconditos lepores*), während der Anonymus in V. 26 f. Lipsius als *Secli Lepos* und als *novus Semo* bezeichnet. Der seltene und geheimnisvolle Ausdruck *Semo*, eine antik mit *Dius Fidius* und *Herkules* identifizierte Gottheit, erscheint zuvor — gleichfalls mit Bezug auf Lipsius — im letzten Vers des Scriverius auf S. 38 (*Tantus in ignota Semo iaceret humo*). Der Ausdruck war auch von Rivius in *Principatus* [3], S. 5, *seu homine, seu heroe, seu Semone* mit Bezug auf Lipsius verwendet worden.

Aus dem Gedicht von Baudius wurden umfänglichere Ausdrücke und Wendungen entlehnt. Vgl. dort (S. 19) *Postquam exsoluta corporis contagio / caelestis aura redditur caelo patri*, (S. 20) *nulli te seculo eximet / aevi vetustas. laudibus semper novis / evincet annos fama nominis tui* und (S. 21) *mens hausta caelo, mens propago numinis* mit V. 10 f. *Corporis atque animi hinc quia Fato cederet ipsa / compago*, V.16-18 *Tabifluae hospitium cratis namque Aura relinquens / coelo hausta, Numinis propago*, und V. 25-27 *Laudibus usque novis evincet nominis annos / secli Lepos, famamque ab alto / Semo novus sibi ducet aevo*.

Das handschriftliche Gedicht hat ein ungewöhnliches Metrum. Es sind neun dreizeilige Strophen. Sie werden jeweils von einem Hexameter, einem alkäischen Neunsilbler mit gelegentlich kurzer fünfter Silbe (= hyperkatalektischer iambischer Dimeter) und einem alkäischen Zehnsilbler gebildet. Es werden gewissermaßen die erste Hälfte eines elegischen Distichon und die zweite Hälfte einer alkäischen Strophe zusammengefügt. Eine genaue Entsprechung ist mir nicht bekannt. Jedoch war die aus drei Versen bestehende Strophe, die antik äußerst selten ist (z. B. Prudentius, *Praefatio*), bei den Neulateinern mit wechselnder Vermischung etwas beliebter.<sup>17</sup> Sie konnten auch die horazische Epode 13 als Tricolon auffassen, was Buchananus in seinem 138. Psalm tat (Hexameter, iambischer Dimeter, Hemiepes)<sup>18</sup> und Paulus Schede Melissus probierte verschiedene Formen von Tricola aus.<sup>19</sup> Die unantiken Strophenformen der

<sup>17</sup> Sie wird in diesem Sinn auch besprochen in: (Christoph Helvicus — Konrad Bachmann), *Poetica [...] per Academiae Gissenae nonnullos Professores*, Tertia Editio (Gießen, 1617), S. 289-290.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. auch Buchananus Psalm 145. Die gleiche Strophenform findet sich bei Ferdinand Freiherr von Fürstenberg, *Poemata* (Amsterdam, 1671), S. 99-102.

<sup>19</sup> S. Paulus Schede Melissus, *Meletematum piorum libri VIII [...]* (Frankfurt am Main, 1595), S. 131-132, 138-139, 151-152.

neulateinischen Dichtung sind bis jetzt meines Wissens noch nicht erforscht worden.

Der Bezug des Gedichts von Boecop auf die Gedichtsammlung *Epicedia* [6], in die es nach der letzten nummerierten Seite eingebunden wurde, ist durch die Ausdrucksübereinstimmungen offensichtlich. Daraus ergibt sich, daß mit dem in der Prosa-Vorrede zu dem handschriftlichen Gedicht benützten Ausdruck *post messem illam uberrimam* eben diese Sammlung gemeint ist. "Nach dieser überreichen Ernte" erlaubt sich der Autor, und das ist höchstwahrscheinlich der aufgrund des Schriftvergleichs als Boecop erwiesene Schreiber dieses Textes selbst, aus seiner freundschaftlichen Gesinnung heraus und in Erwartung einer freundschaftlichen Aufnahme dem Herausgeber der Leidener *Epicedia* [6], eine weitere, wenn auch "trockene und dünne Ähre" (*spicam aridam et tenuem*), darzubringen.<sup>20</sup> Der handschriftliche Text ist offenkundig die Teilkopie eines Briefes (es fehlt nur die Absender und Adressat nennende *Salutatio*), den Boecop im Original also an den Herausgeber der *Epicedia* [6], gerichtet haben dürfte und der durch deren Druck im Jahr 1607 auf die gleiche Zeit datiert werden kann. Damals studierte Boecop noch in Leiden und war so mit dem Herausgeber und manchen der Beitragenden gut bekannt. Dominicus Baudius war damals einer seiner Professoren.

Wer aber ist der Herausgeber der *Epicedia*? Einem Satz in dem als Vorwort dienenden Brief an den Leser ([6], S. 5: *Praeivit heroicus Scaligeri animus, et ad hoc officium nos invitavit*) läßt sich entnehmen, daß Joseph Scaliger selbst nicht der Herausgeber war, daß er aber den Anstoß zu der Leidener Sammlung gegeben hat und daß einer der anderen Autoren der aufgenommenen Gedichte auch der Herausgeber war. Von ihnen ist der an letzter Stelle stehende Scriverius, der auch später mehrfach als Herausgeber tätig war und hinter dessen Gedichten der handschriftliche Text eingebunden ist, am wahrscheinlichsten. J. Scaliger (°1540) stünde dann als Initiator der Sammlung

<sup>20</sup> Das Vergleichsbild von Ernte und Ähre für literarische Produktionen findet sich wenig früher in: Germanus Audebertus, *Roma* (Paris, 1585; Hanau, 1603) (in der demnächst als Hamburger Beiträge zur Neulateinischen Philologie, Bd. 2, erscheinenden Ausgabe von Elia Marinova, Diss. Hamburg 1998, V. 977-982): *O per te liceat, Murete, colone feracis / dives agri, centum campos qui vertis aratris, / foecundas segetes dum falce recidis avara, / per te, inquam, liceat vel inanes forte relictas / colligere hic spicas inopi te pone sequenti / et miserum arguta perdentii carmen avena.*

und angesehenster Gelehrter am Anfang; es folgten in der Reihenfolge der Anciennität der Autoren die Gedichte von Vulcanius (°1538), Baudius (°1561), D. Heinsius (°1580) und Grotius (°1583), worauf der Herausgeber Scriverius (°1576) die Sammlung mit seinen Gedichten beschloß. Wenn diese Vermutung zutrifft, stand Boecop 1607 in Leiden in freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zu Scriverius. Durch seinen stilistischen Anschluß an die Leidener Gedichte zeigt er sich auf jeden Fall als zugehörig zu dem dortigen humanistischen Milieu. In einem späteren — undatierten — jesuitischen *Elogium patris Arnoldi a Boecop*<sup>21</sup> wird zwar versichert: *Fidei constantiam laude virginitatis in haeretica apud Batavos academia tenuit adolescens*, aber selbst wenn er sich auch damals zum katholischen Glauben bekannte, hielt er es doch nicht für notwendig, deshalb auch eine katholische Universität aufzusuchen. Das Gedicht stammt also aus einer Zeit, als seine Glaubenshaltung noch nicht so streng altgläubig war, wie sie wenige Jahre später wurde.

Wie ist nun aber die ebenfalls von Boecop stammende handschriftliche Datierung auf den 15. Mai und 28. August 1609 unter den anonymen *Inferiae* [4], zu deuten? Der mit CANDIDO LECTORI SALVTEM überschriebene Text in [4] setzt sich überaus kritisch mit dem Anfangsbrief in den *Epicedia* [6] auseinander und zitiert diesen mehrfach. Der anonyme Verfasser greift insbesondere die Stellung von Joseph Scaliger als *Criticus Iuppiter Litteratorum* (S. 8) an, sieht Luther, Calvin und Beza in der Hölle (S. 15: "Luthero, Calvino, Bezae de caelo augurantibus, et sub terras cum Eumenidibus aeternum demersis"), verteidigt die *Loiolitae* genannten Jesuiten und betont, daß Lipsius nicht als Philologe oder Stoiker, sondern auf den Flügeln der katholischen Kirche in den Himmel gelangte (S. 14: "Caelum igitur Lipsius tenet, non quo illi viam saecularis litteratura obstruxit potius quam complanavit, non quo eum Stoica secta gravans potius quam erigens subvexit, sed quo alis Ecclesiae Catholicae evolavit, Poenitentia ante expunctus, Eucharistia roboratus, Extrema Unctione instar Christiani Athletae vegetatus"). Es ist dies eine Einstellung, die Boecop als er 1609 den Dialog *Iustus Lipsius Catholicus* verfaßte, teilte und die auch mit seinem darauf folgenden Eintritt in den Jesuitenorden harmonierte. Für diesen anonymen Text wird der aus Utrecht stammende Antwerpener Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde

<sup>21</sup> Abgedruckt bei Barten, 'Het Proces van Jonker Arent thoe Boecop S. J. Hagiograaf en Martelaar' (wie Anm. 12), S. 294.

als Autor vermutet<sup>22</sup>, mit dem der Jesuit Boecop später hagiographisch zusammenarbeitete.<sup>23</sup>

Wenn dies der Fall ist, könnte die von Boecop unter den Text geschriebene Datierung bedeuten, daß er den Text in Zutphen am 26. Mai und 8. September 1609 erhalten oder gelesen oder mit den anderen Schriften zum Buchbinder gegeben hat. In diesem Zusammenhang ist ein Satz des Textes auffällig. Der Autor schreibt auf S. 11: "Monuerat iam ante biennium amicus meus Alter-Ego Petrum Scriverium de hac Criseos Scaligerianae temeritate". Der Autor gibt hier zu erkennen, daß er einen sehr guten Freund hat, der mit Scriverius in Verbindung stand und der sich diesem gegenüber vor zwei Jahren kritisch über die Ansprüche Scaligers geäußert hat. Das könnte Boecop gewesen sein, der mit Scriverius 1607 ja, wie soeben erwiesen wurde, freundschaftliche Beziehungen hatte. Die Zweijahresfrist würde die Niederschrift der *Inferiae* [6] dann auf 1609 bringen, was mit den beiden handschriftlichen Boecopschen Datierungen zusammenstimmt. Es läßt sich diesen Datierungen dann auch entnehmen, daß Boecop unterdessen eine wesentlich kritischere Einstellung gegenüber den Leidenern eingenommen hatte und in das geistige Lager der Jesuiten gerückt war.

Die Boecopsche *Subscriptio* könnte aber auch noch anders gedeutet werden. Sie könnte bedeuten, daß Boecop den Text der *Inferiae* [4], selbst geschrieben hat und daß er die Daten der Niederschrift und des Druckes bzw. des Erhalts des Druckes mit dem 26. Mai und dem 8. September 1609 angibt. In diesem Fall wäre der von ihm erwähnte Freund nur eine Maskerade für ihn selbst. Der *Alter-Ego* wäre er selbst in seiner früheren Leidener Zeit. Gegen eine solche Hypothese sprechen jedoch nicht nur die alte Zuschreibung der Schrift an den Jesuiten Rosweyde, sondern auch der mir von Dirk Sacré mitgeteilte Umstand, daß Boecops Briefe, soweit sie überliefert sind, keinen Hinweis auf eine Verfasserschaft Boecops enthalten. Man wird also eher bei der alten Zuschreibung

<sup>22</sup> S. BBr III, S. 1124: "(Hérib. Rosweyde?)". Nach Dirk Sacré stimmt diese Zuschreibung überein mit der im allgemeinen gut informierten *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, Opus inchoatum a R. P. Petro Ribadineira [...] continuatum a R. P. Philippo Alegambe [...] recognitum et productum ad annum Iubilaei M.D.C.LXXV a Nathanaele Sotuello [...] (Rom, 1676), S. 835, wo in dem *Index librorum aliquorum, qui tacitis Auctorum nominibus excusi sunt et quibus Auctorum nomina in hoc Catalogo adscribuntur* verzeichnet wird: *Vindiciae inferiarum Iusti Lipsij contra Scaligerum. Heribertus Rosweydeus*.

<sup>23</sup> S. Barten, 'Het Proces van Jonker Arent thoe Boecop S. J. Hagiograaf en Martelaar' (wie Anm. 12), S. 284.

der Schrift an Rosweyde bleiben und die Boecopschen Datierungen unter den *Inferiae* [4], als Daten für ihren Empfang, ihre Lektüre oder noch anders deuten müssen, wobei für den Umstand, daß Boecop zwei Daten schrieb, bis jetzt keine völlig befriedigende Erklärung gefunden ist.

Diese Seiten zu der ursprünglich im Besitz von Arnoldus a Boecop befindlichen Sammlung der Schriften über Justus Lipsius konnten zuerst über einige bisher unbekannte Fakten informieren, sie gelangten auf dieser Grundlage dann zu einigen Schlußfolgerungen und Hypothesen und mußten am Ende auch Fragen offen lassen. Der hier vorgestellte Band ist auf jeden Fall geeignet, durch seine Analyse außer der Buchgeschichte ein Stück der Biographie des Arnoldus a Boecop und allgemein die konfessionellen Konflikte innerhalb des Humanismus zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts zu beleuchten.

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## ZUR ÜBERSETZUNG DER *CARMINA* DES FABIO CHIGI

Am 19. Februar 1999 wurde in Münster die Prachtausgabe mit den neulateinischen Jugendgedichten und dem Drama *Pompeius* des Fabio Chigi (1599-1667) vorgestellt,<sup>1</sup> des späteren Papstes Alexander VII., der als Nuntius in Köln in den Jahren 1644-1649 in Münster weilte, um dort die Verhandlungen zum Westfälischen Frieden wesentlich zu gestalten. Die Edition wurde nicht im Trubel der Jubiläumsfeierlichkeiten des Westfälischen Friedens vorgestellt, sondern erst im folgenden Jahr an jenem Datum, an dem sich der Geburtstag Chigis zum 400. Mal jährte.

Die beiden mit großzügiger Unterstützung der Kulturstiftung der Sparkasse Münster gedruckten Folianten enthalten im ersten Teil links die Faksimile-Seiten der barocken Pariser Edition von 1656, die mit einer neuen Zeilenzählung<sup>2</sup> und einer weiteren Paginierung versehen sind, und rechts<sup>3</sup> die Übersetzung von Hermann Hugenroth, dem ehemaligen Direktor des Gymnasium Paulinum von 1955-1973, der sich zuvor schon mit den Gedichten des Rudolf von Langen und Bernhard Rottendorf beschäftigt hatte. Band II enthält neben einführenden Darstellungen und Indizes insbesondere Kommentare zu den Gedichten als ganzen und Erläuterungen zu einzelnen Stellen.

Bei allem Respekt vor der gewaltigen Leistung des nunmehr Neunzigjährigen seien einige Korrekturen gestattet, die sich auf Chigis Periphrasen

<sup>1</sup> Fabio Chigi, *Philomathi Musae Juveniles. Des Philomathus Jugendgedichte*. Teil I: *Faksimile der Ausgabe Paris 1656* mit der Übersetzung von Hermann Hugenroth; Teil II: *Zum dichterischen Werk Fabio Chigis (1599-1667), des späteren Papstes Alexander VII.: Einführung, literarhistorische und dichtungstheoretische Kommentare* von H. H. (Köln - Weimar - Wien: Böhlau, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Es kommt zu Fehlern, wenn auf einer folgenden Seite die übergreifenden Zeilen der Pentaden nicht mitgerechnet werden: I 42 in c. 7: Versangabe 50 eine Zeile höher (im Kommentarband II 66 Vers 51 richtig gerechnet). I 362 c. 87: Verszahl 115 zwei Zeilen höher. Alle Seitenangaben beziehen sich, soweit nichts anderes gesagt wird, auf die neue Paginierung. Die Orthographie der Originalausgabe wird beibehalten.

<sup>3</sup> Diese naheliegende Zweiteilung des Bandes hat dort ihre Tücken, wo schon in der Originalausgabe linke und rechte Seiten korrespondieren: 130-137 = I 278-292 der neuen Paginierung.

von Jahreszeiten oder Tagesangaben beziehen, die sowohl in der römischen, besonders der kaiserzeitlichen, als auch der humanistischen und der Barockdichtung äußerst beliebt waren, aber heute nicht mehr leicht verstanden werden.

1. Das in alkäischen Strophen abgefaßte c. 7 zum Amtsantritt des Papstes Urban VIII. (1623)<sup>4</sup> beginnt nach Art der im Zeitalter des Barock verbreiteten Sonnenallegorie in hymnischem Stil mit einem weitgespannten Gleichnis, das vier Strophen, also insgesamt 16 Verse ausfüllt: Wie die Sonne nach dem Winter im Frühling die Natur erwachen läßt, so ist der neue Papst dem Erdkreis erschienen und weckt seitdem “die Samen der Tugenden”. Dabei wird der Übergang vom Winter zum Frühling ausführlich beschrieben (c. 7,5-12):

Nimbosâ postquam saeuit impete  
Latè maligno bruma, Aquilonibus  
Exasperans imbres, & vrnâ  
Iliacus gelidâ recessit;  
  
Emensus auri vellera diuitis,  
Tauri pererrans terga potentior  
Serenat auras, & feracem  
Complet humum grauidatque foetu;

Dazu die Übersetzung:

... nachdem winterlicher Sturm um die Zeit der Sonnenwende weit und breit mit bösem Ungetüm gewütet — durch Nordwinde die Wirkung der Regenschauer noch verschlimmernd — und Iliacus aus der kalten Zone des Wassermanns entwichen ist, wie der Gebieter der Zeit<sup>5</sup> nach dem Lauf durch goldglänzende Wolkengebilde stärker geworden, des Taurus Bergrücken überquert, die Lüfte aufheitert, den ergiebigen Boden befruchtet und mit Wachstum erfüllt,...

Der erste Satz bis *imbres* ist richtig übersetzt,<sup>6</sup> nur daß die Übersetzung des Wortes *bruma* mit “Sonnenwende” zu wenig erkennen läßt, daß es sich um die Wintersonnenwende handelt. Daß Chigi möglicherweise die Etymologie *bruma* = *brevissima* (sc. *dies*) gekannt hat, geht

<sup>4</sup> Zum Verhältnis Papst Urbans VIII. zur Astronomie und Astrologie siehe demnächst Brendan Dooley, *The Last Prophecy of Morandi: Politics and the Occult in Baroque Rome*.

<sup>5</sup> Dies wieder aufgenommen nach Vers 1 “coruscus temporis Arbiter”: der Sonnengott.

<sup>6</sup> Den Ablativ *impete* (vgl. ThLL VII 1 c. 595,10-55) verwendet Chigi auch im Drama *Pompeius* 842-43 “furente qualis | Mentis impete deuius”.

aus c. 88 hervor, wo er von seiner Abreise aus Münster am 13. Dezember 1649 spricht und beide Wörter in einem Satz verbindet (c. 88,28-30):

dum iam brumalibus horis  
Flecteret auricomos spatio breuiore iugales  
Cynthus.<sup>7</sup>

Dann folgen drei Tierkreiszeichen, von denen der Übersetzer nur das erste erkannt hat.<sup>8</sup> Wer 'Iliacus' sein soll, wird nicht deutlich. Der Übersetzer scheint an eine Umschreibung des Sonnengottes gedacht zu haben, der den Wassermann in Richtung auf den Frühling verläßt. Die Periphrase umschreibt aber vielmehr den Wassermann selbst, der ja meist als Ganymed gedeutet wird.<sup>9</sup> Ganymed aber ist Sohn des Tros, des eponymen Heros der Troer, daher seine Bezeichnung als 'Iliacus'. Die Übersetzung muß also lauten: "und nachdem der Mann von Ilion (Ganymed) mit seinem kalten Wassergefäß (hinter der Sonne) zurückgeblieben ist." Bezeichnenderweise wird hier nicht die Sonne, sondern umgekehrt das Tierkreiszeichen zum Agens der Bewegung. Nach dem sich damals nur langsam durchsetzenden kopernikanischen Weltbild ist allerdings die jährliche Revolution der Erde für den Wandel verantwortlich.

Danach wird jedoch nach antikem Vorbild die Sonne zum Agens der Bewegung. Eigentlich müßte auf den Wassermann das letzte Tierkreiszeichen, die Fische, folgen,<sup>10</sup> doch Chigi springt gleich zu den beiden als Paarhufern zoologisch ziemlich eng verwandten Frühlingszeichen, Widder und Stier.<sup>11</sup> Ist einmal erkannt, daß die Wendung "auri vellera diuitis" nichts mit 'Lämmerwölkchen' zu tun hat, sondern der zodiakale Widder gemeint ist, läßt sich der Text leicht verstehen: "nachdem er

<sup>7</sup> In Vers 37-38 wird er dann deutlicher:

Ergo Syracusiae lux consecrata Puellae,  
Tertia post decimam quam fert aurora Decembris.

Das syrakusische Mädchen ist die heilige Lucia.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. den Kommentar II 65 ad l.: "*urna*: Attribut des Gestirns 'Wassermann', des 11. Tierkreiszeichens."

<sup>9</sup> F. Boll — W. Gundel, 'Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik', in Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Bd. 6 (1924-1937; Ndr. Hildesheim, 1965, 2. Ndr. Hildesheim, 1977), pp. 867-1071 (pp. 974-977). Da Ilos sein Bruder ist, scheidet ein Patronym aus.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. den Kommentar a. O.: "des Gestirns 'Wassermann', des 11. Tierkreiszeichens, das vom Frühlingspunkt nur durch die 'Fische' getrennt ist." Die Fische erscheinen am Anfang von c. 74, 2 als Schlußzeichen: "Ultima sidereus ostentans semita pisces", s.u.

<sup>11</sup> Zum Parallelismus Aries — Taurus W. Hübner, 'Das Horoskop der Christen (Zeno 1, 38 L.)', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 29 (1975), 120-137 (pp. 125-6).



(der Sonnengott) das Vlies des reichen Goldes durchmessen hat". Die Synekdoche widerspricht allerdings insofern der astrologischen Lehre, als der Widder erst verstirmt wurde, nachdem ihm sein goldenes Vlies abgezogen worden war. Er gehört daher — auch als ziemlich schwach leuchtendes Sternbild<sup>12</sup> — zu den 'amputierten' Tierkreiszeichen (μελοκοπούμενα).<sup>13</sup>

Bei dem Namen *Taurus* handelt es sich nicht um das bekannte Gebirge in Kleinasien,<sup>14</sup> sondern wieder um ein zodiakales Wesen: den Stier. Die Übersetzung muß daher lauten: "Wenn er (der Sonnengott), schon mächtiger geworden, den Rücken des Stiers durchläuft, heitert er die Lüfte auf, usw." Mit dem Wort *terga* meint Chigi die Hinterpartie des Stiers, die allerdings gerade nicht als verstirmt gilt.<sup>15</sup> Der Komparativ *potentior* läßt sich so verstehen, daß die Sonne im Stier in dem Maße an Energie gewinnt, als der Stier den vorangehenden Widder an Größe und Kraft und an Wert als Opfertier übertrifft.<sup>16</sup>

Der zodiakale Stier wird noch öfter mit dem homonymen Gebirge verwechselt. Das c. 40 beginnt mit den Worten:

Sexta dies aderat, Tauri quâ terga premebat  
Aethereus Titan...

Die Übersetzung darf nicht lauten: "Schon war der 6. Tag angebrochen, an dem die Sonne die Hänge des Taurus dörrte...", sondern: "...

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. R. Montanari Caldini: 'L'oscurità dell'Ariete da Arato ad Avieno', *Prometheus*, 11 (1985), 151-167.

<sup>13</sup> W. Hübner, *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike: Ihre Darstellung und Verwendung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Manilius*, Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 22 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), pp. 111-12 Nr. 2. 222. 3.

<sup>14</sup> In der zodiakalen Geographie gehört Kleinasien — vielleicht auch wegen des homonymen Gebirges — zum Stier: Manil. 4,753 "Taurus habet Scythiae montis", eqs.

<sup>15</sup> W. Hübner (wie Anm. 13), 113 Nr. 2. 222. 41. Die *terga* werden sonst für das übermächtige Zeichen, den Krebs, erwähnt: Prop., 4, 1, 150, danach Pontano, *Urania*, 1, 801.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Ov., *fast.*, 4, 716 *uictima maior*, ferner das Zwiefaltener Zodiologion (saec. XII), ed. W. Hübner, *Zodiacus Christianus. Jüdisch-christliche Adaptationen des Tierkreises von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, 144 (Königstein, 1983), p. 201, 41-42 "primi segetes tunc [...] ad maturitatem tendunt et in quibusdam ferventioribus terris etiam metuntur", oder die fragmentarischen Versus quadrati in einem Zodiologion aus Gerona, ed. id., 'Verse in einem Zodiologion aus Gerona', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 34/1 (1999), 77-99 (p. 83) wo es über den Stier heißt:

fortius est Ariete,  
ita <...>  
Sol existens in aprili  
forcior est solito  
habito <...> respectu  
<...> a marcio.

an dem der Sonnengott die Hinterpartie des Stieres bedrängte". In Vers 86 folgt dann eine verständlichere Tagesangabe: "Septima lux Maij..."

Das Verbum *premere*<sup>17</sup> begegnet im selben Zusammenhang auch in dem Drama *Pompeius* wieder (v. 496-97): "quamquam aetherea Sol Tauri premat | Terga", wo nicht zu übersetzen ist: "obwohl die Sonne die hohen Bergrücken des Taurus schon spürbar erwärmt", sondern: "obwohl der Sonnengott die ätherische Hinterpartie des Stieres bedrängt."

2. Eine zweite Stelle findet sich in einem hexametrischen Gedicht (c. 19, 142-43):

cū sidere laeto  
Scorpius, aut lunae complet vaga cornua Libra,...

Die Übersetzung lautet: "wenn das Sternbild des Skorpion<s> mit leuchtendem Funkeln oder die schweifende Waage die mondförmigen Hörner vollendet." Das Adjektiv *vaga* bezieht sich jedoch nicht als Nominativ Femininum auf die Waage, sondern als Neutrum Plural auf die Spitzen (*cornua*)<sup>18</sup> des zunehmenden Mondes: "wenn der Skorpion mit leuchtendem Gestirn oder die Waage die schweifenden Spitzen des Mondes füllt", d.h. wenn der Mond im Skorpion oder in der (auf den Skorpion folgenden) Waage voll wird. Der Ausdruck *vaga cornua* kann als Enallage gefaßt werden, denn "schweifend" ist eigentlich die 'launische' Luna selbst.<sup>19</sup> Andernorts bezieht Chigi das Adjektiv — in einer Nominalkomposition — auf das Licht des Mondes (*Pompeius*, 149-50):

Quidquid noctiuago lumine Cynthia  
[...] aspicit.

3. Das in der vierten asklepiadeischen Strophe abgefaßte c. 68 feiert einen Sieg Genuas über Feinde, die sich im Frühjahr der Stadt genähert haben, aber im Herbst vertrieben wurden (68, 19-24):

<sup>17</sup> Dieses Verbum kann positiv oder neutral gebraucht werden, wenn es die Bedeckung eines Sternbildes durch die Sonne bezeichnet: Ov., *fast.*, 3, 852; Lucan., 1, 655-56; 9, 691-92 (dazu Alfred Edward Housman, *M. Annaei Lucani belli civilis libri decem*, Oxford, 1927<sup>2</sup>, pp. 327-28). Von Planeten Ov., *Ib.*, 215-6, vom Mond Hor., *epist.*, 1, 12, 18, vom Einzelstern Germ., 246 (gr. ἐπέχει), wieder anders Petron. 39, 8, dazu Sven Eriksson, *Wochentagsgötter, Mond und Tierkreis: Laienastrologie in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia (Göteborg, 1956), p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> ThLL IV c. 969, 56 — 970, 15 "de luna". Vgl. etwa vom Mond Mart. Cap., 2, 170 *cornigera*; 7, 738 *corniculata*.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Pacon. Diom. gramm., I 500, 4 *uaga Cynthia*, ferner Ps. Plut., *De Hom.*, 102, 3 πολυκίνητος. Gemeint ist in erster Linie die stark von der Ekliptik nach Norden oder Süden abweichende Mondbahn.

Et quos Velleris aurei  
 Phryxus decor, ac uerna beatitas  
 In se allegerat improbos,  
 Ferro sat domitos cernit ab aethere  
 Chiron, ante hyemem ferox  
 Certâ deiiciens spicula dextrâ.

Die Übersetzung lautet:

Und welche die Pracht des Goldenen Vlieses von Phrixus sowie die Schönheit des Frühlings in ihrer Verruchtheit angelockt, erblickte vom hohen Äther Chiron als ganz blutige Opfer, der vor der Hochzeit schleuderte mit sich'rer Hand Wurfspieße zornig auf die Erde.

Die Kommentarnotiz<sup>20</sup> "*velleris aurei Phryxus decor*: der Schatz des Goldenen Vlieses" hilft nicht weiter. Gemeint sind einmal mehr zwei Tierkreiszeichen, zunächst wieder das Sternbild des Widders, in das die Sonne mit Frühlingsbeginn tritt. Es steht dem folgenden Sternbild zwar nicht diametral, wohl aber antithetisch<sup>21</sup> gegenüber: "Chiron, ante hyemem ferox". Es handelt sich um dasjenige Tierkreiszeichen,<sup>22</sup> das den Herbst beschließt, also dem Winter<sup>23</sup> vorausgeht, nämlich den Schützen: "Es erkennt sie (die Feinde) aus dem Äther Chiron, schon vor dem Winter grimmig, mit sicherer Hand seine Pfeile herabschießend." Ein Τοξότης = *Sagittarius* kann nur seine Pfeile, aber keine 'Wurfspieße' abschießen.

4. In c. 75 bedauert der Dichter in elegischen Distichen, daß sich der Abschluß des Friedens in Münster verzögert. Wieder geht es um den Frühlingsanfang (c. 75, 81-82):

Vere Aries primo reserabat corniger annum,  
 Et glacie & niuibus mitior ibat hiems:...

Die Übersetzung lautet: "Zu Beginn des ersten Frühlings eröffnete der gehörnte Widder das Jahr, und mit Eis und Schnee verabschiedete sich ein ziemlich milder Winter." Auf diese Weise wird das Wort *primo* zweimal übersetzt, doch nur die erste Übersetzung trifft zu: "Zu Beginn

<sup>20</sup> Kommentar II 176 zu Vers 19-20.

<sup>21</sup> Ebenso am Anfang von c. 74, 1-4 die Fische, die das Zodiakaljahr beschließen, und die nicht genau gegenüberliegende Waage als Zeichen der Herbsttagundnachtgleiche: s.u.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. ThLL onom. II c.399, 77-400, 5 "de sidere". A. Le Bœuffe, *Les noms latins d'astres et de constellations* (Paris, 1977), p. 217 (der Name kann aber auch den extrazodiakalen südlichen Kentauren bezeichnen).

<sup>23</sup> Das Wort *hyemem* wurde mit *hymen* "Hochzeit" verwechselt.

des Frühlings...". In dem Pentameter meint Chigi nicht, daß der Winter relativ mild gewesen sei, sondern daß die üblichen Wetterbedingungen eines normalen Winters langsam nachließen. Das Adjektiv *mitior* ist also prädikativ zu fassen: "und der Winter mit seinem Eis und den Schneefällen ging schon milder dahin."

5. In dem in Hexametern abgefaßten c. 83 gedenkt Chigi des Tages seines feierlichen Einzugs in Münster, den er hymnisch begrüßt (c. 83, 4-6):

Magna dies salue, Phryxei Velleris auro  
Successura dies, Iessaei sacra Parentis  
Nomine,...

Die Übersetzung lautet: "Sei begrüßt, großer Tag, der du nahe kommen wirst mit deinem strahlenden Licht dem Goldglanz des Vlieses von Phrixus,..." Auch hier ist der Widder wieder als Frühlingszeichen gemeint, wie schon die vorausgehende Zusammenfassung "Martio mense M. DC. XLIX." nahelegt. Es geht also nicht um das Licht eines strahlenden Tages, sondern um die Verschlüsselung eines exakten Datums. Das Futur *successura* gibt an, daß die Sonne am folgenden Tag in das Tierkreiszeichen des Widders eingetreten ist. Dieser folgende Tag ist der 21. März, der Tag der Ankunft mithin der 20. März, wie auch das folgende bestätigt: Der 20. ist Jesse, dem Vater Davids, geweiht.<sup>24</sup> Außerdem wissen wir aus c. 87, daß Chigi am 14. März in Köln aufgebrochen und sechs Tage später in Münster angekommen ist.<sup>25</sup>

Gestützt wird diese Annahme auch durch die bereits zitierte — richtig übersetzte — Zeitangabe am Anfang des hexametrischen Gedichtes über den schon fünfjährigen Aufenthalt in Münster (c. 74, 2-4):

Ultima sidereos ostentans semita pisces,  
Iam quintum rediit; toties redit ordine libra,  
Phoebe aequans noctisque vices.

Vorausgesetzt, Chigi ist am 20. März in Münster angekommen, dann stand die Sonne gerade noch im Tierkreiszeichen der Fische.

<sup>24</sup> Entsprechend betont Chigi, daß der Tag der Abreise, der 13. Dezember, der Tag der Lucia ist: s.o. Anm. 7.

<sup>25</sup> c. 87, 1-2 "Martius à decimo quantum numerauerat ortum | Solis". Und in Vers 104 heißt es: "Sex abiêre dies", eqs. Die Rückreise nach Aachen dauerte dagegen acht Tage, c. 88,211: "et finem nostro fert lux octaua labori".

6. Eine Parallele hierzu bietet eine letzte Stelle aus dem ebenfalls hexametrischen Reisegedicht, das Chigis Weg von Aachen nach Trier schildert. Es beginnt wieder mit einer verschlüsselten Zeitangabe (c. 90, 1):

Tyndaridum extremo fulgebat sidere Phoebus,...

Die Übersetzung lautet: "Schon strahlte die Sonne beim letzten Funkeln der Tyndariden,..." Der Kommentar erklärt richtig, daß die Tyndariden das Sternbild der Zwillinge umschreiben.<sup>26</sup> Nur handelt es sich nicht um das "letzte Funkeln" jenes Sternbildes, sondern darum, daß die Sonne am Ende des Zeichens stand, kurz bevor sie in das Zeichen des Krebses hinüberwanderte. Da die Zwillinge — wie der Stier — rückwärts, also mit den Füßen zuerst aufgehen,<sup>27</sup> liegen die im Kommentar genannten Hauptsterne Kastor und Pollux gerade am Ende des Abschnittes. Die Annahme, daß sich die Sonne am Ende des Tierkreiszeichens befand, stimmt mit der Nachricht aus dem Tagebuch Chigis überein, daß er am 20. Juni nach Trier abgereist sei: Der Übertritt der Sonne in das Zeichen des Krebses erfolgte am 21. Juni. Mithin ergibt sich zwischen der Ankunft in Münster am Ende der Fische (20. März) und dem Aufbruch von Aachen am Ende der Zwillinge (20. Juni) ein glatter Geviertschein im Übergang von dem Quadrat der 'doppelten' zu dem der 'tropischen' Tierkreiszeichen.<sup>28</sup>

Im ganzen entspricht also der Inhalt nicht ganz der opulenten Aufmachung des Buches.<sup>29</sup> Es hätte sich empfohlen, die Übersetzung von einem zweiten Latinisten überprüfen zu lassen. Da man sich infolge der weltweit schwindenden Lateinkenntnisse zunehmend auf Übersetzungen zu verlassen pflegt, ist es wohl nicht abwegig, hier exemplarisch einige Fehler korrigiert zu haben. Der *labor Herculeus* des Übersetzers soll dadurch in keiner Weise geschmälert werden.

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<sup>26</sup> Kommentar II 210 ad l. Vgl. F. Boll — W. Gundel (wie Anm. 9), p. 950.

<sup>27</sup> W. Hübner (wie Anm. 13), p. 101 Nr. 2.131.

<sup>28</sup> A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899; Ndr. Brüssel 1963 und Aalen 1979), pp. 169-70; W. Hübner (wie Anm. 13), pp. 74-76 Nr. 1. 311.

<sup>29</sup> Zu den in Anm. 2 genannten und den beiläufig korrigierten Druckfehlern kommen etwa noch in der Übersetzung von c. 11, 1 (I 51) ein fehlendes Spatium sowie im Kommentar II 94 die falsche Versangabe für *Libra* (143) oder der fehlende Randausgleich in der letzten Zeile II 203.

Michele Valerie RONNICK

THE MEANING AND METHOD OF MILTON'S PANEGYRIC  
OF CROMWELL IN THE *DEFENSIO PRO POPULO  
ANGLICANO SECUNDA*\*

Milton's praise of Oliver Cromwell found in the final third of the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda*, has often been quoted, but seldom analyzed in modern times.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the work itself and its praise of Cromwell, are important keys to a fuller understanding of the English Commonwealth on political, intellectual and social levels. For the *Defensio Secunda* formed part of the angry struggle between the exiled Stuart family and the regicide Commonwealth of England. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, the Stuarts sought avenues of vindication which included the circulation of official written statements. Claudius Salmasius was the leading classical scholar of his day. As the successor of Scaliger at the University of Leiden, he was deemed second in learning only to Hugo Grotius. To Charles II such a man seemed fit to write a defense of his father that would also support efforts at restoration. This

\* An earlier version of this paper was read in December of 1995 during the Neo-Latin session at the American Philological Association Meeting in San Diego, California. The Latin text here used of Milton's *Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano Secunda* is that established by Eugene Strittmatter in volume eight of *The Works of John Milton*, ed. by Frank Allen Patterson, 21 vols in 18 (New York, 1931-1938). Quotations from other authors have been taken from various volumes of the Teubner series of texts.

<sup>1</sup> The *Defensio Secunda* — and this is true of all of Milton's Latin prose in fact — has drawn little interest of late among scholars. With the glaring exception of the late Leo Miller and perhaps Robert Fallon, most modern Miltonists have confined their interest to Milton's works in the English language. Although various classical influences and allusions continue to be analyzed in his writings, little serious attention has been given to his Latin prose, even though it constitutes a substantial amount of his entire opus. In the last century when the *Defensio Secunda* has been published, it has usually been in some form of excerpted translation taken from the passages concerning Milton's life and/or those sections praising the new leaders of England. Sad to say, this will probably remain the case for the basic scholarly tool needed to open up the study of this substantial body of work — namely a concordance — has not yet been produced. Concordances, however, have been made for all of his English writing in prose and in verse as well as for his Latin, Greek and Italian poetry.

work, *Defensio regia Pro Carolo I*, published in 1649 prompted the leaders of the Commonwealth to ask John Milton, then serving them as Secretary of Foreign Languages, to pen a rebuttal in Latin. Two years later the *Defensio Prima* was published and the stage for international drama was set.

The *Defensio Prima* was recognized at once as an outstanding accomplishment by a hitherto unknown talent. It vanquished the pretentious efforts of one of the best known intellectuals of that age, and precipitated the rapid production of a series of editions, reprints and translations. The royalist supporters lashed back furiously by banning and burning the book. Other writers jumped into the fray. Soon Milton found it necessary to issue the *Defensio Secunda* in 1654 and in the following year his own personal apologia, the *Pro Se Defensio*.

For this achievement, one that anticipates in prose many of the features of *Paradise Lost*, Milton paid a considerable price. The trilogy made his reputation, but its creation destroyed his eyesight. The permanent blindness that followed the completion of the *Defensio Prima* radically altered his primary sensory intake. Reading became listening; writing became speaking. Throughout the crisis both in personal health and public government, Milton sustained his spirits by keeping in mind orators, like Demosthenes and Cicero especially, who had stood up in defense of liberty. Milton responded to the challenge and rose to the height of his powers in the *Defensio Secunda*, a work called by E. M. W. Tillyard 'the greatest of Milton's prose works and one of the greatest of the world's rhetorical writings.'<sup>2</sup>

The *Defensio Secunda* is in fact an oration.<sup>3</sup> Milton refers to it as an *oratio* at 1.6 and 232.4. At 12.4 he speaks of its *exordium*, and at 18.3 he mentions its *proemium*. It can be divided roughly into a speech of two parts. The first part consists of Milton's personal defense of himself. He attacked his adversaries in terms of the sharpest invective and vituperation with which he intended to, and did, make both the Stuart kings and their propagandists into figures of ridicule. The second portion falls into three sections: 1) the problems that faced the English people, 2) the eulogy of Cromwell and his comrades along with some advice about their behavior in the future, and 3) the exhortation to the

<sup>2</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1930), pp. 192-193.

<sup>3</sup> On this point see Richard L. Hoffman, 'The Rhetorical Structure of Milton's *Second Defence of the People of England*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 43 (1971), 227.

English citizenry to protect their liberty. Here in this half of the speech Milton lifted his eyes up from the lowly and debased existence of his detractors and looked out to the world at large. To the current leadership of England, to the English people, to his readers on the continent, and beyond to posterity itself, Milton offered both his praise and his advice.

Its design is in general in keeping with the Renaissance tradition of panegyric as expounded by Erasmus in his *Panegyricus*, a speech presented to Archduke Philip of Burgundy in 1504 and very much indebted to Isocrates' speech *To Nicocles*.<sup>4</sup> Those principles and those culled from earlier writers of Latin panegyric such as Claudian were termed as a group 'the laws of Panegyric' by John Evelyn in 1661, and are found codified in treatises on rhetoric published before and during Milton's generation. There we see the dynamics of the bipart division between now and then, the *nunc* and the *prius*, the appreciation and the advice to the prince which exhorts him to virtue under the pretext of praise, an exposition of the real and the ideal, and finally an attempt at a renewal of the contract between prince and people.<sup>5</sup>

Milton nowhere uses the Latin noun *panegyricus* in this speech, although it does appear in English in his English writing. Nevertheless, Milton's praise of Cromwell in Latin prose was, if not the first, one of the first efforts formally printed in the seventeenth century. From the Appendix we can see that two other pieces of praise were published about the time of Milton's work.<sup>6</sup> The first, a broadside of a single sheet, need not detain us. The third entry, however, deserves some attention. The pair of works listed in the third entry were published both together, and also as separates. The authorship of each is in question. The author of the 12 page item listed as (A. 3) is perhaps the Portuguese ambassador to England at the time, João Rodrigues de Saa Meneses, the count of Penaguião. The 34 pages of item (A. 4) have been ascribed to him as well. Furthermore both pieces have been attributed to Milton.

<sup>4</sup> See James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28 and 129. See also Iiro Kajanto, *Christina Heroína: Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina, Queen of Sweden* (Helsinki, 1993), pp. 43-59, and Sabina McCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', in *Empire and Aftermath*, ed. by T. A. Dorey (London, 1975), pp. 143-205.

<sup>6</sup> Additional information about some of the items listed in the Appendix can be found in Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1929) and in Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York, 1940). Bradner's appendix, 'Chronological List of Publications of Anglo-Saxon Poetry', found on pp. 346-371, is useful.



It is clear from the Appendix that verse panegyric about Cromwell was also quite common. Fitz Payne Fisher for example became the Protectorate's quondam 'poet-laureate'. Like the mercurial journalist Marchamont Needham, however, who swung from side to side like a veritable Alcibiades, Fisher is viewed today 'as a notable undertaker in Latin verse and one who had well deserved of his country, had not lucre of gain and private ambition overruled his pen to favour successful rebellion.'<sup>7</sup> Another versifier, John Harmar, appointed Professor of Greek at Oxford in 1650, was considered to be 'an excellent Greek scholar and tolerable Latin poet.' He was 'highly esteemed for his learning', but 'personally despised', for he was 'silly, credulous', and 'tried by all means to keep in with whatever party was in power.'<sup>8</sup>

Milton was neither of these. With his public voice the civic minded Milton justified the actions of the English regicides using legal, religious and historical evidence. With his private voice he labored on a personal level to prove that he was a better classical scholar than Salmasius. To this end Milton dressed his prose with apt or clever quotations from classical authors which were more often than not left formally unidentified. On occasion he created his own Greek loan words as he did in the passage at 1.52.4.<sup>9</sup> After quoting his adversary as saying at lines 3-5 of page 52 'post haec proemia tubam terribilem inflabit ὁ θαυμάσιος ille Salmasius,' he plays upon the musical metaphor. He first denounces his opponent's sense of musical harmony *concentus musici* (5) and his terrible trumpet *tubae terribili* (6), and turns from the image of that wind-driven instrument to make an obscene reference to flatulence. He then takes the description of Salmasius 'the wonderworking Salmasius, ὁ θαυμάσιος in line 4 and makes him into a very poor tunester six lines later by using the genitive of an adjective that appears nowhere in Latin *thaumasii Salmasii* to continue the insipid rhyme scheme. Had Milton retained the Greek, its definite article would have to have been expressed in the genitive case. By cleverly resorting to Latin he leaves the pattern of sound undisturbed, drives home his bilingual pun, and shows off both his learning and wit.

<sup>7</sup> Emily Tennyson Bradley, 'Fisher, Payne (1616-1693)', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. (London, 1908-09), VII, 70.

<sup>8</sup> William Hunt, 'Harmer or Harmer, John (1594?- 1670)', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols (London, 1908-09), VIII, 1297.

<sup>9</sup> See Michele Valerie Ronnick, 'On the Verb Aegyptizo in Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Prima*, 5.290.18', *Notes and Queries*, 240 (1995), 31-32.

Witty word play such as this in Milton is always great fun, but it is in his choice of actual quotations from Graeco-Roman literature that we can discern a third and more serious level of meaning. For when one starts to look at the context from which these unidentified quotations were drawn, one can see that Milton has a darker and far more ambiguous view of the English enterprise. Scholars have attempted to trace in the *Defensio Secunda* the beginning of Milton's apparent change of heart toward Cromwell as the regime became rigidly pompous and totalitarian over time.<sup>10</sup> Others, seeming to be entirely unaware of the *Defensio Secunda*, have attempted to prove that Milton's antagonism towards the arrogant and monomaniacal 'Roman' pageantry of the restoration monarchy first appears in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>11</sup>

What these critics have missed in their examinations, however, is the relationship between the words with which Milton based his rhetorical design and the actual text of its classical antecedents in Latin. These interconnections are both complex and striking. Milton for example echoes Cicero's words in one of his Caesarian speeches, the *Pro Marcello* at 10.32. Cicero writes: 'nisi te, C. Caesar, salvo et in ista sententia, qua cum antea tum hodie vel maxime usus es, manente salvi esse non possumus', 'only through your safety, Caesar, and by your adherence to the policy which you have most of all used both before and today, can there be any safety for ourselves.' Milton declares at 218.14-16 'te enim salvo, Cromvulle, ne Deo quidem satis confidit, qui rebus Anglorum, satis ut salvae sint, metuat', that 'while you, Cromwell, remain safe, a person has not enough confidence in god who holds fears about English affairs.'

At times he echoes the thought of Pliny the Younger's words in his panegyric of Trajan. As Pliny lauded Trajan for helping impoverished children at paragraphs 26 and 27 so Milton encouraged Cromwell to 'make a better provision for the morals and training of the young,' and see to it that both the worthy and the unworthy, the diligent and the lazy ('dociles juxta atque indociles, gnavos atque ignavos', 236.16) 'be maintained at public expense'... 'juventutis institutioni ac moribus melius prospexeris... impensis publicis ali' (236. 14-16). As Pliny praised Trajan for choosing his friends from the best of subjects and encouraging

<sup>10</sup> Austin Consult Woolrych, 'The Cromwellian Protectorate: A Military Dictatorship', *History*, 75 (1990), 207-231.

<sup>11</sup> Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Historicizing Milton* (Athens, GA, 1994), p. 97.

them to virtue (44-45), so Milton suggests that Cromwell 'keep, as he does, the same comrades he first had in his struggles and battles among the associates of his policies in particular', 'primum quos laborum atque discriminum comites habuisti, eosdem, quod facis, consiliorum socios cum primis adhibueris', 228.15-17. The selection of examples here offered you, none of which have ever been pointed out by scholars, suggests that much work remains to be done. Clearly some aspect of Milton's thought is revealed to us through the combination of these elements that were worked silently and without specific mention. Here is one interpretation.

Milton stands on the shoulders of Cicero and Pliny as he views postregicide England.<sup>12</sup> Like Caesar, Charles had been assassinated, and like Augustus, who had emerged from the bloodshed of the Roman civil war, Cromwell had become in Milton's words 'the greatest and most glorious citizen, the leader of the public enterprise', 'civis maximus & gloriosissimus, dux publici consilii' (222.11-12). The phrase *dux consilii* is a Ciceronian coinage used in the first oration against Catiline (1.22), *De Domo Sua* (102.3) and the *Pro Sestio* (42.3). Like Cicero, Milton offered words of praise to a man who had yet to reveal how he planned to exercise the tremendous political and military power he had gained in a time of turmoil. Invoking the spirit of Caesar, Milton tells us that Cromwell had refused the crown, but wonders what he will do for an encore? Would the seasoned soldier become a protector of liberty and successful leader like Trajan who according to Pliny was 'reluctant in fact to rule', 'recusabas enim imperare (5), and, as Mark Morford has noted, ordered the Romans to be free, 'iubes esse liberos' (66)?<sup>13</sup>

That Milton has his doubts becomes apparent upon closer examination. At *Defensio Secunda* 220.11, Milton inserts the Senecan phrase *alta pax*, drawn from *Thyestes*, 576 (*hinc alta pax*, 'a deep peace was here') into his text. Beyond the literal level of meaning, Milton's use of the Senecan phrase suggests something more. It suggests that the deep peace (*alta pax*) the English experienced when Cromwell went to Scotland might well herald a new period of horrific fratricidal violence over

<sup>12</sup> On this sort of parallel see F. M. Holland, 'Oliver Cromwell and Caesar', *University Quarterly*, 1 (1860), 295-314, and Charles-Jean-Dominique Lacretelle, *Parallèle entre César, Cromwell, Monck et Bonaparte* (s. l.a. [Paris?, 1800?]).

<sup>13</sup> M. P. O. Morford, 'Iubes Esse Liberos: Pliny's *Panegyricus* and Liberty', *American Journal of Philology*, 113 (1992), 575-593.

control of the throne as it did in Seneca's tragedy. For six lines later in Seneca's play Atreus slaughters the sons of his brother Thyestes.

In England and on the continent of Europe all eyes were focused upon Cromwell with whom Milton himself was deeply invested. As Austin Woolrych has noted, 'short of imagining Shakespeare as Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, it is hard to conceive of more striking conjunction of giants than that of Milton and Cromwell in the service of the English Commonwealth.'<sup>14</sup> Moreover as John Cowper Powys pointed out in a statement he applied to Milton's poetry, but which is true about Milton's entire work, 'Milton's poetry divides itself as his life did into his thoughts, feelings and ideas before Cromwell's death and his thoughts, feelings and ideals after Cromwell's death.'<sup>15</sup> Furthermore as Frank Kermode saw in 1953, Milton's concept of the Christian hero started to emerge with his thoughts about Cromwell and grew into its fullest flower in the characterization of Christ in *Paradise Regained*.<sup>16</sup>

Using words that evoke the Christian soldier, Milton tells us at 214.5-7 that Cromwell 'was a soldier well exercised in knowing himself' and that he 'had destroyed whatever of the enemy lay within his heart', 'sui enim noscendi exercitissimus miles, quicquid intus hostis erat... deleverat.' A few lines later Milton declares that Cromwell 'by a discipline not merely military, but established by the rule and sanctimony of Christ, drew all into his camp as if to the best school not only of military science, but of religion and piety', 'disciplinae non ad militarem modo, sed ad Christianam potius normam & sanctimoniam institutae, ut omnes ad sua castra tanquam ad optimum non militaris duntaxat scientiae, sed religionis ac pietatis gymnasium.' Milton later states that this self-mastery should be practiced by all the English for 'this is the warfare of peace', 'haec pacis militia est' (240.22). Cromwell's motto, *pax quaesitur bello*, manifests the same paradoxical aspect of a Christian warrior. The topos is, however, classical, and is seen in the works of many writers from Graeco-Roman antiquity.

Nowhere, however, did Milton attempt to predict Cromwell's future, but he did take care to detail his own position in the turmoil. Summoned

<sup>14</sup> Austin Woolrych, 'Milton & Cromwell: "A Short but Scandalous Night of Interruption"?', in *Achievements of the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose of John Milton*, ed. by Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Amherst, MA, 1974), p. 185.

<sup>15</sup> John Cowper Powys, 'Milton', in *The Pleasures of Literature* (London, 1975), p. 367.

<sup>16</sup> Frank Kermode, 'Milton's Hero', *Studies in English Literature*, 4 (1953), 317-330.

by his country, the poet Milton abandoned his poetry during this period, and turned instead to shaping in his own words 'the achievements of his left hand.' His poetry can be said to have suffered a 'scandalous night of interruption' of its own, to use that notorious phrase from Milton's *The Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings* (1659). For his last works, written during the Restoration, were in verse.

Like Cicero and Demosthenes before him, Milton applied the prose of great oratory to the defense and support of his country. At the beginning of the *Defensio Secunda*, after recognizing the significance of his task, Milton declares that he 'seems to himself to be bringing liberty back home after a long exile', 'videor iam mihi... libertatem diu pulsam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum... reducere' (14.5-9). Like Triptolemus he is 'importing the fruits for the nations from' his 'own city', 'frugem ex civitate mea gentibus importare' ... 'it is a far nobler kind than those fruits of Ceres that he is sowing abroad among the cities, kingdoms and nations', 'longe nobiliorem Cereali illa frugem... per urbes, per regna, per nationes disseminare' (14.9-12).

Using the technique of ring composition, based on a continuation of this agricultural metaphor, Milton ends his speech where he had begun. He extracts a telling phrase from Cicero's *Pro Milone*, a speech concerning two warring rivals, Clodius and Milo. The line at 13.35 which reads, 'why did Milo hate Clodius who was the harvest yield and timber of his own glory', 'quid odisse Clodium Milo segetem ac materiam suae gloriae', is reworked by Milton into the final lines of the *Defensio Secunda*. He declares that 'to undertakings so grand... it will be seen that the harvest yield of glory was abundant', and that 'the materials were there for carrying out the greatest of deeds', 'tantis inchoeptis... ingentem gloriae segetem, & maximarum rerum gerendarum materiam praebitam' (254.4-6). Milton, who 'had been especially devoted to the more humane studies from his childhood', 'ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maxime deditus' (10.2-3), and who was 'always stronger in talent than in body', 'ingenio semper quam corpore validior' (10.3-4), had applied himself to defending the truth by arms and also by reason 'defensam armis veritatem ratione etiam' (10.11).

In this way he was like the patriot-farmer Cincinnatus who stepped away from his plough in 458 B.C. to help his country. Blind though he was, Milton fought his own war of words by 'farming for his state' as well as for the benefit of other nations. In the second half of the *Defensio* he encouraged his fellows to do the same. Milton here became the

poet-orator who according to Antony Wittreich is 'creator', 'translator of divine vision', and 'minister to man's secular and spiritual needs.'<sup>17</sup> In defending a people's right to rid itself of a dysfunctional government, Milton has, I suggest, brought nourishment to the 'blind mouths' of people everywhere, not only in England but to humanity at large. Thus this paper offers evidence that challenges the view held by many scholars that Milton became progressively disillusioned with the Cromwellian Protectorate. It is clear that from the start Milton hoped for the best from all the participants, but that his knowledge of classical antiquity warned him that he should perhaps fear for the worst.

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## APPENDIX

### A. Praise of Cromwell in Latin Prose during his Lifetime

- 1) John HARMAR, *Serenissimo invictissimoque Olivero... Academiae Oxoniensis cancellario excellentissimo* (London: s. n., 1653?-1654?), 1 sheet, oration;
- 2) John MILTON, *Pro Populo Anglicano Secunda Defensio* (London: Newcomb May, 1654);
- 3) João RODRIGUES DE SAA MENESES, *Panegyricus Cromwelli* (Leyden: Elzevir, 1654), 12 pages, attributed to J. Milton;
- 4) João RODRIGUES DE SAA MENESES, *Panegyricus clarissimo Anglorum imperatori Olivero Cromwello scriptus* (Leyden: Elzevir, 1654), 34 pages, attributed to J. Milton;
- 5) ANON., *Oratio serenissimi Protectoris elogium complectens* (Oxford: H. Hall, 1654);
- 6) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Oratio anniversaria in diem inaugurationis serenissimi nostri principis Olivari Protectoris* (London: Daniel & Blackmoore, 1655), repr. 1657;
- 7) Louis DE GARD, *Parallelum Olivae, nec non Olivarii* (London: R. J., 1656);
- 8) Petrus AB HEIMBACH, *Ad serenissimum potentissimumque principem Olivarium... adlocutio gratulatoria* (London: s. n., 1656);

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr., 'Milton's Idea of the Orator', *Milton Quarterly*, 6 (1972), 39.

- 9) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Oratio secunda anniversaria in honorem serenissimi pientissimi ac potentissimi nostri principis Olivari* (London: J. G. & Blackmoore, 1657).

#### **B. Praise of Cromwell in Latin Verse during his Lifetime**

- 1) Francis NELSON, *Honoratissimo invictissimoque imperatori domino Olivero Cromvell encomia triumphaque cantit [sic!] respublica* (s. l. n., 1651);
- 2) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Irenodia gratulatoria ... viri Oliveri Cromwelli epinicion* (London: s. n., 1652);
- 3) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Inauguratio Oliveriana, sive, Pro praefectura... carmen votivum* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1654) 2 ed. 1656;
- 4) John HARMAR, *Eucharisticon pro recuperata valetudine Olivari* (London: s. n., 1654); broadside, verse;
- 5) Edmund LITSFIELD, *Triambeisis celsissimi Domini Oliverii Cromwelli* (London: s. n., 1654);
- 6) UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, *Oliva pacis. Ad illustrissimum celsissimumque Oliverum carmen Cantabrigiense* (Cambridge: s. n., 1654);
- 7) OXFORD UNIVERSITY, *Musarum Oxoniensium Elaiaphoria... celeusma metricum* (Oxford: s. n., 1654);
- 8) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Piscatoris poemata: vel panegyricum carmen in diem inaugurationis Olivari* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1656);
- 9) Augustus WINGFIELD, *Carmen panegyricum* (London: G. Godbid, 1656);
- 10) Fitz Payne FISHER, *Paeon triumphalis in secundam inaugurationem serenissimi nostri principis Olivari* (London: Daniel & Blackmoore, 1657).

Josep M. BARNADAS

UN CORRESPONSAL DEL P. ATHANASIUS  
KIRCHER SJ DESDE CHARCAS:  
DOS CARTAS DE J. R. DE CONINCK SJ (1653-1655)

*Dilecto Iosepho IJsewijn,  
magistro et duci Neolatinistarum  
nuper de vivis morte erepto  
opere et exemplo semper virenti*

Cuando uno quiere saber algo sobre el misionero, matemático y naturalista Jan Raymond De Coninck SJ, la primera impresión que tiene es la de encontrarse ante una figura misteriosa y fantasmal: síntoma de ello es, en efecto, su ausencia de repertorios jesuíticos clásicos, ya sea el universal de Sommervogel o el peruano de Torres Saldamando; tampoco ha contribuido ciertamente a esclarecer los perfiles de esta personalidad el hecho de que en las escasas noticias dispersas por varias obras de consulta bibliográfica su apellido haya tomado formas diferentes (König, Köning, Coninck...); o, peor todavía, que él mismo haya firmado simplemente muchas veces como 'D. Juan Ramón' o que haya habido quien lo considerara austriaco. Vale la pena, pues, empezar tratando de reunir la información más o menos fácilmente disponible.

## **1. Revisión historiográfica**

Aunque no ejerció influencia en las literaturas hispanoamericanas posterior (salvo lo que recogió, a comienzos del siglo XIX, Moreno sobre la pericia cartográfica de De Coninck), es probable que las primeras noticias sobre esta figura científica fueran las del fraile matemático francés Louis Feuillée, quien recorrió la costa sudamericana del Pacífico en 1707-1709 y conoció en Lima a nuestro hombre, que por entonces se encontraba en sus últimos meses de vida.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Feuillée, *Journal des observations physiques, mathématiques, et botaniques, faites par l'ordre du roy sur les côtes orientales de l'Amérique Méridionale, et dans*



En el índice de la versión dieciochesca que Andrés González de Barcia hizo del *Epítome de la bibliotheca oriental y occidental* (obra escrita, un siglo antes, por A. de León Pinelo, pero que la amplió tanto, que más le corresponde llevar el nombre de aquél que de éste), hay dos remisiones a un 'Juan Koning' en las páginas 1.043 y 1.522; podemos prescindir de la segunda porque parece errónea y no he podido descubrir la página correcta. Vayamos, pues, a la p. 1.043, donde podemos leer:

JVAN KONIG: Las Huellas Matemáticas o Tyrocinio Cosmográfico, Geométrico, Geográfico, Astronómico, Cometográfico; el primer Libro contiene bien clara, i distintamente, un Tratado de Esfera, o Cosmografía Universal, o Astronomía Elementar, para los Principiantes; el quarto, una Manuducción fácil, i clara, a la Astronomía, que trata cuidadosamente sus Principios, de la Naturaleça, Movimiento, Systema, Figura, i orden de los Cielos. De la substancia, i accidentes de las Estrellas. De los Planetas. Del Eclipse, Paralaxis, i Crepúsculos; i de los Instrumentos Astronómicos, i su uso, imp. 1677. 12. 1680. 12. Latín.<sup>2</sup>

No he visto registrada(s) esta(s) obra(s) en ninguna bibliografía hispanoamericana; pero González de Barcia es taxativo: dos volúmenes en 12°, aparecidos en 1677-1680 y escritos en latín. Sigamos la ruta.

En 1807 el médico (José) Gabriel Moreno (1735-1809) antepuso a la edición del *Almanaque peruano y guía de forasteros para el año de 1807* un 'Elogio de D. Juan Ramón Koenig, segundo catedrático de Matemáticas de la ciudad de Lima' de 15 páginas sin numerar,<sup>3</sup> en este texto, además de dar algunos datos biográficos bastante acertados, traza una semblanza viva y admirativa de De Coninck, destacando sus aportes geométricos y de ingeniería civil; en él afirma que desde 1687 obtuvo nombramiento del Virrey Liñán y Cisneros (1678-1681) para la cátedra de Matemáticas y el cargo de Cosmógrafo Mayor del Reino; y que 'publicó desde 1680 hasta 1708 las efemérides de Lima'. No hay duda de que esta pieza ha sido la principal fuente de cuantos se han referido posteriormente a nuestro personaje.

*les Indes Occidentales, depuis l'année 1707 jusques en 1712*, 3 vols (París, 1714-1725), I, 430.

<sup>2</sup> A. de León Pinelo — A. González de Barcia, *Epítome de la Bibliotheca oriental, y occidental, náutica y geográfica... añadido y enmendado nuevamente, en que se contienen los escritores en Geografía en todos los reynos y señoríos del mundo*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1737).

<sup>3</sup> G. R. Moreno, *Biblioteca Peruana*, 2 vols (Santiago de Chile, 1896), I, 8, nº 35; J. T. Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, 4 vols (Santiago de Chile, 1905), III, 359, nº 2043.

Hacia 1878 Mendiburu dedicó un breve artículo a un 'Juan Ramón Koenig', visiblemente basado en la semblanza de Moreno (1807); aunque contiene varios datos desorientadores (particularmente sobre las circunstancias de su llegada al Perú) y no muestra sus bases informativas, ha servido no poco para que subsistiera la imagen histórica de De Coninck: repitiendo a Moreno, dice que había nacido en Malinas en 1623, llegado a Lima en 1655 con la familia del Virrey Conde de Alba de Liste (1655-1661),<sup>4</sup> quien lo nombró Capellán del Hospital del Espíritu Santo; que en 1677 habría sustituido a Francisco Ruiz Lozano en la enseñanza de la Cosmografía y en 1678 habría sido nombrado Catedrático de Matemáticas de la Universidad; que otro Virrey, el Conde de Santisteban (1661-1666), le habría escogido como preceptor de su hijo y Capellán de Palacio; que desde 1680 editó las *Efemérides de Lima*; que en 1681 elaboró un mapa del Perú y que al año siguiente hizo un plano de la muralla de Lima; que al final de su vida se encontraba acopiando datos para una Geografía del Perú, cuyos papeles se perdieron o quemaron al morir.<sup>5</sup>

En 1896 el boliviano Gabriel René Moreno, al registrar el *Almanaque peruano y guía de forasteros* de 1807, se detiene en resumir los datos del elogio que ese año le dedicara el ya referido homónimo peruano, adobados con otros de Mendiburu:

... Juan Ramón Koenig, luminoso ingenio en lenguas y ciencias exactas, el segundo profesor de matemáticas habido en Lima y cuando esta asignatura, sacada de su condición de enseñanza hecha sólo en el cuartito del hospital junto con rudimentos de náutica, pasó a profesarse como cátedra en forma dentro de San Marcos, el año 1678. Entonces el mismo Koenig, nacido en Malinas de los Países Bajos, el año 1623, presbítero que había venido entre la familia del virrey Alba de Liste, pasó a ejercer el cargo de cosmógrafo del Perú, empleo creado por el propio decreto de su nombramiento que firmó, y merece decirse, el arzobispo virrey Liñán y Cisneros. Koenig falleció el 19 de Julio de 1709. Sus numerosos estudios preparatorios para escribir la geografía y grabar el mapa del Perú perecieron al día siguiente, quemados o desbaratados por sus domésticos (4).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> En realidad, Moreno fue en 1807 más cauto: antepone un 'se cree que'.

<sup>5</sup> M. de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico biográfico del Perú. Parte primera que corresponde a la época de la dominación española*, 8 vols (Lima, 1878), IV, 363-364; ver también la segunda edición ampliada del *Diccionario*, (Lima, 1933), 12 vols, VI, 379.

<sup>6</sup> Moreno, *Biblioteca Peruana*, I, 8 n° 35. En la nota con que se acaba el texto transcrito, Moreno no añade ningún detalle más sobre 'Koenig': describe los raros ejemplares de almanaques peruanos que atesoraba la biblioteca de su amigo L. Montt.

En 1904 el chileno Medina registra varios impresos que interesan porque documentan la existencia literaria de 'D. Juan Ramón' en Lima: en 1688 suscribía una de las aprobaciones de los *Sermones al milagroso aviso que dió a la Ciudad de los Reyes la Serenísima Reyna de los Cielos...*, de Francisco Rodríguez Fernández; en 1691 aparecía en Lima un epigrama latino suyo en el *Arte de la lengua general del Ynga* de Esteban Sancho de Melgar; una colección de almanaques peruanos que abarca desde 1698 hasta 1838 y que formó parte de la biblioteca particular de un Cónsul francés en Lima, Chaumette des Fossées, le sirve para deducir la existencia de la publicación por lo menos desde aquella primera fecha; y al ocuparse del almanaque *El conocimiento de los tiempos* de 1750 que editaba el P. Johannes Röhr SJ, el hecho de que éste fuera también Catedrático de Matemáticas le lleva a decir algo de sus antecesores en ambas funciones, mencionando entre ellos al 'presbítero D. José [sic] Ramón Koenig', quien 'había comenzado a publicar en 1680 anualmente el Conocimiento de los tiempos...'.<sup>7</sup> Pero más importante que todo ello fue la descripción de toda una obra atribuida a 'Juan Ramón Coninkius'; se trata de:

*Cubus, et Sphaera Geometrice Duplicata* (sigue una portada interior de título quilométrico), Lima, J. de Contreras, 1696, [13], 30 ff., [1 f.], 4 láms.

En aquella portada interior el propio autor se presentaba así:

'Doct. D. Joannes Ramon Coninkius, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor et Regius in Limano Palatio Regalis Sacelli Archicapellanus, maximus Peruani Regni Cosmographus, Primariusque Cosmographiae Lector in Hospitali S. Spiritus et in Alma Limensi Universitate Universalis Mathesios [sic] Cathedrae Primus Moderator'.<sup>8</sup>

En 1947 Vargas Ugarte, por una parte pone en conocimiento público dos piezas manuscritas de 'D. Juan Ramón': una del Archivo General de Indias (Lima, 299):

Carta del Duque de la Palata, remitiendo la respuesta de D. Juan Ramón a las observaciones hechas a la planta de la muralla de D. Francisco Domingo de Belvalet. 15 de octubre de 1687.

<sup>7</sup> Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, II, 178, 189, 224, 459. En 1905, al registrar el ya mencionado volumen del *Almanaque peruano y guía de forasteros* de G. Moreno, deja constancia de las 15 páginas del 'Elogio de D. Juan Ramón Koenig, segundo catedrático de Matemáticas de Lima' (*Ibid.*, III, 359).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 218, nº 678. Nadie ha dicho nada sobre dónde se doctoró en Teología; con los datos ahora disponibles, sólo cabe pensar en la Universidad de S. Marcos de Lima.

Otra del *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* de Roma (Fondo Gesuitico, 1488/2, n° 61):

Carta de donación que hace D. Juan Ramón, Capellán Mayor de Palacio y Catedrático de Prima de Cosmografía, de las haciendas Calanta, en la provincia de Chayanta, a orillas del río Grande de Mizque, estancia de ganado que con ella confina, las cuales deja a la Compañía para ayuda de la Misión de los Mojos. Fecha Lima, 3 de Setiembre de 1696, ante Juan Beltrán, Escribano.<sup>9</sup>

Por otra parte, en un artículo de diccionario, junto a datos erróneos sacados de Mendiburu y Medina, ofrece otros nuevos e irrefutables: aunque sólo se refiere al periodo limeño (cuando se autoidentificaba como 'Juan Ramón'), lo alfabetiza como 'Juan Ramón Coninck', guiado, seguramente, por la portada interior de su *De sphaera*; menciona su intervención en las obras de fortificación de Lima (1682-1687), lo que le permite poner de relieve la excelente información bibliográfica que manejaba: pero, sobre todo, da a conocer su testamento, otorgado en Lima (13-VII-1709), donde asentó su voluntad de que se le enterrara en el Colegio jesuítico de S. Pablo; y pone de manifiesto sus aficiones intelectuales en base al inventario de la biblioteca (donde figuran, por ejemplo, nada menos que 13 vols. del P. Kircher, la *Arquitectura* de Vitrubio, *La perspectiva* de Vignola y un volumen de Dürero, todos ellos en folio; más otros 210 títulos en cuarto); también da la fecha exacta de su fallecimiento (20-VII-1709).<sup>10</sup> Paradójicamente, ni el finísimo olfato de un investigador tan empedernido como Vargas Ugarte pudo levantar la liebre del pasado jesuítico de De Coninck.

En 1948 Schwab, al hacer una revisión bibliográfica de los almanaques peruanos, también se topa con '*Köning*' o '*König*' (usa ambas gráficas): aprovecha los datos de Gabriel Moreno (considera muy probable su información de que publicara los almanaques limeños desde 1680), de Medina (sobre todo, la referencia al catálogo de la biblioteca de Chaumette des Fossées); y de Mendiburu (para trazar un breve esquema biográfico: aunque reconoce que 'no se sabe nada seguro de la formación de Koenig adquirida en Europa', se atreve a 'suponer que había adquirido sólidos conocimientos humanistas en los brillantes centros

<sup>9</sup> R. Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos peruanos en las bibliotecas y archivos de Europa y América*, Biblioteca Peruana, 5 (Buenos Aires, 1947), 85, 188; gracias a la información del P. De Cock (Roma) puedo dar la signatura actual.

<sup>10</sup> R. Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América Meridional*, 2 vols (Lima, 1947), I, 149-152.

culturales que existían en Flandes'; luego retoma su biografía limeña reiterando los datos publicados por Moreno, Mendiburu y Medina.<sup>11</sup>

En 1954, Vargas Ugarte volvió a ofrecer las tres referencias bibliográficas ya dadas por Medina medio siglo antes, junto con la descripción de la obra geométrico-matemática de De Coninck.<sup>12</sup>

Con posterioridad a la última fecha no han aparecido nuevos elementos de juicio de importancia: aunque los panoramas o síntesis de diccionario recogen lo ya sabido o innovan sin fundamento, por lo menos una vez también dan nuevas pistas: Porras Barrenechea, por ejemplo, ha informado en 1968 de la publicación en 1951 del aludido mapa de De Coninck (1683).<sup>13</sup> Y el P. Wicki ha ofrecido la pista decisiva para dar con las cartas de De Coninck, además de situarlas en el contexto mayor de las docenas de cartas recibidas por Kircher de parte de misioneros jesuitas de Asia y América; al referirse a nuestro jesuita, sólo indica que dejó la Compañía 'wohl nach 1655'.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Nuevas luces biográficas

Las dos cartas aquí publicadas<sup>15</sup> contribuyen, sin duda, a esclarecer varias circunstancias importantes de la vida y a iluminar algunos

<sup>11</sup> F. Schwab, 'Los almanaques peruanos y guías de forasteros, ¿1680?-1874', *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Biblioteca. Publicado por la Biblioteca Central de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima)*, 18 (1948), 80-82.

<sup>12</sup> R. Vargas Ugarte, *Impresos peruanos*, 5 vols (Lima, 1949-1957), II, 187, 206, 240, 248.

<sup>13</sup> E. Romero de Valle, *Diccionario manual de literatura peruana y materias afines* (Lima, [1966]), pp. 168-169: por vez primera se le hace austriaco (no sabemos de dónde lo saca); cita como autoridades a Mendiburu y a Medina; R. Porras B., *Fuentes históricas peruanas* (Lima, 1968), pp. 224, 399, 458.

<sup>14</sup> J. Wicki, 'Die *Miscellanea epistolarum* des P. Athanasius Kircher SJ in missionarischer Sicht', en *De archivis et bibliothecis missionibus atque scientiae missionum inservientibus* (Roma, 1968), 221-254 (pp. 231-232, sobre las dos cartas de De Coninck).

<sup>15</sup> Según G. Rosso, 'N. Mascardi missionario gesuita esploratore del Cile e della Patagonia (1624- 1674)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 19 (1950), 31 (n. 16) y en Wicki, 'Die *Miscellanea epistolarum*', 231, ya Vargas Ugarte publicó la primera en *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima), 277 (1950), 147-148, bajo el título 'Oro viejo. Epistolario retrospectivo'; la verdad es que sólo publicó, traducidos al español, algunos fragmentos de la mencionada carta. Curiosamente, en el *índice general del tercer Mercurio Peruano, 1918-1978* (Lima, 1988), 420, n.º 4725 se dice de este artículo que 'glosa y comenta varias cartas del siglo XVII y XVIII'; y este artículo tampoco se registra en la bibliografía elaborada por A. Nieto, '† P. Rubén Vargas Ugarte SJ (1886-1975)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (Roma), 44 (1975), 424-439.

aspectos de la personalidad intelectual de De Coninck. He aquí los más significativos.

Queda convalidado su origen belga (aunque no afirma que sea nativo de Malinas); es plausible la fecha de nacimiento en 1623; por su origen flamenco (que equipara a la etiqueta, hoy a primera vista desconcertante para muchos, de 'Alemania Inferior'<sup>16</sup>), debía pertenecer a la Provincia Flandro-Belga; seguimos sin saber nada de sus lugares de estudio en Flandes (¿Lovaina?); habiendo sido destinado al Perú, se embarcó en 1647 en una expedición de sesenta religiosos; aunque no precisa dónde, afirma haber sufrido un naufragio, en el que perdió todo o parte del equipaje (en él iba su precioso telescopio). A aquella edad era, por tanto, estudiante; acabó su formación en Lima llevando a cabo o terminando sus estudios de Teología; es probable que en esa misma ciudad hubiese sido ordenado de sacerdote (hacia 1651/1652). A fines de 1652 estaba en el Cuzco; y al año siguiente, en Juli (seguramente haciendo el año de Tercera Probación o estudiando aymara o qhishwa o ambas cosas a la vez); y en 1655 residía en Colegio de Potosí.

Ya desde Sevilla se había conocido con el cofrade italiano Niccolò Mascardi (que había sido alumno del P. Kircher en el Colegio Romano<sup>17</sup>), entre quienes nació una especial amistad y con quien permanecerá en relación epistolar en América; esta circunstancia acreció la estima que ya en Bélgica había tenido por algunas de las obras del ilustre polígrafo alemán (tenía consigo una de ellas); ya en el Perú, desde las alturas del Tititaca, en 1653 se decide a entablar correspondencia con el P. Kircher; al cabo de dos años, no habiendo recibido ninguna respuesta, le vuelve a escribir recapitulando las consultas hechas en la carta anterior y comunicándole noticias frescas que su alumno Mascardi le había enviado desde Chile.

De Coninck dejó la Compañía de Jesús en una fecha incierta, pero que no debió ser posterior a 1657 (fecha en que, como hemos visto, ya se le sitúa en la corte virreinal limeña); sobre sus causas, subsiste un silencio

<sup>16</sup> Aunque no debiera serlo para quienquiera tuviera en cuenta la tradición humanista: 'Humanists used to call this whole area 'Belgium' o 'Belgia', sometimes also 'Germania Inferior'', J. IJsewijn y D. Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2 vols (Lovaina, 1990<sup>2</sup>-1998), I, 148. Por otra parte, hay que recordar que los jesuitas flamencos habían formado parte de la Provincia de Alemania Inferior entre 1550 y 1583; luego constituyeron una sola Provincia Belga, hasta que a partir de 1611 se dividieron en las dos provincias Flandro-belga y Galo-belga; De Coninck entró, por tanto, en la primera de las dos.

<sup>17</sup> En la *Miscellanea epistolarum* de Kircher se conservan siete cartas de Mascardi al venerado maestro (1653-1671), Wicki, 'Die *Miscellanea epistolarum*', 241-242.

absoluto (digamos, de paso, que esta ruptura explica su ausencia en por lo menos algunos de los repertorios bio-bibliográficos jesuíticos). El hecho de que en Lima firmara habitualmente '*Juan Ramón*' también ayuda a entender que no se haya pensado en una llegada anterior al Perú y haya tenido que forjarse la semileyenda de su condición de Capellán del Virrey Conde de Santisteban como causa justificante de su presencia en Lima.

### 3. Novísimas noticias archivísticas

Al preparar la edición de las dos cartas charqueñas de De Coninck, he procurado apurar la información de las fuentes archivísticas jesuíticas; y, aunque no mucho, algo he logrado reunir: procuraré resumirlo y sistematizarlo en unas pocas líneas.<sup>18</sup>

Tenemos en primer lugar su propia declaración inscrita en el Libro del Noviciado de Malinas, que dice textualmente:

Ego Joannes de Coninck, Mechliniensis, natus anno 1625 mense Martii, die 29, ex legitimo toro, patre Henrico de Coninck, matre Joanna van den Grave, vivis (pater sutoriam exercet) studui primum apud P[atres] Oratores humanioribus anno circiter Mechliniae, ubi figuras audiui, inde ad Walloniam discedens, hinc post intermissa anno circiter et medio studia, Mechliniam rediens ad nobiliorem Patrum Societatis palestram ac certum salutis portum me contuli et cum nobilioribus studiis generosiores assumens animum septem annorum cursum singulari Dei favore felicissime confeci. Donec tandem melioris vitae desiderio flagrans, certa ac benigna magnaue Dei vocatione quo me impellebat ac ubi salutem certam demonstrabat, ad Societatem Jesu aspiravi... Anno 1642 mense Septembri die nono Mechliniae debito premissis examine admissus sum. Mechliniam vero ad domum probationis veni anno 1642 mense Septembri die 21a (...) Actum anno 1643, mense Januarii, die 2a. Ita est et sit in aeternum.

Esta preciosa información, aunque no da respuesta a todas las preguntas, establece con absoluta certeza algunos de los datos vitales de De

<sup>18</sup> Quiero agradecer aquí la ayuda recibida del Dr. F. Denegri Luna (†) (Lima) y de los PP. Joseph De Cock, Wiktor Gramatowski, H. Grünwald y D. Butaye, directores — respectivamente — del *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (Roma), del *Archivum Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae* (Roma), del *Archivum Provinciae SJ Germaniae Superioris* (Munich) y del *Archivum Provinciae SJ Belgicae Septentrionalis* (Lovaina-Heverlee).

Coninck: Nacido en Malinas (29-III-1625),<sup>19</sup> estudió en Flandes y en alguna ciudad de Valonia que no precisa; entró al noviciado de su ciudad natal el 21-IX-1642;<sup>20</sup> por una anotación marginal del mismo libro sabemos que se embarcó hacia el Perú en 1647, a los 22 años de edad (seguramente, habiendo terminado sus estudios filosóficos).

De Lovaina he recibido asimismo el texto de otras dos cartas.<sup>21</sup> Una (20-X-1648), dirigida a un destinatario no identificado, está escrita apenas a los tres meses de su llegada a Lima y en ella se extiende en el relato de las zozobras de la navegación; llegó a Panamá el 23-XII-1647, saliendo de allí el 27-IV-1648 (no sin haber padecido en aquella ciudad un ataque de fiebres, que le tuvo en cama desde el 6-I hasta el 21-III). Desde Paita el P. Procurador hizo con él y otro compañero por tierra el resto del viaje hasta Lima, llegando finalmente el 21-VII; inmediatamente prosiguió o inició los estudios de Teología; su único deseo era que se le destinara a trabajar con los indios. La segunda es del 31-V-1650, va dirigida al P. Jan-Baptist Uwens (1588-1657), que posiblemente era el Rector del Colegio de Malinas: mucho más breve (probablemente, sólo nos ha llegado un fragmento), se limita a dar noticia de varios terremotos ocurridos en Santiago de Chile y en Filipinas en los años 1648 y 1649.

#### 4. Importancia de las dos cartas publicadas

Finalmente, las dos cartas ahora publicadas nos dan una luz nítida de las amplias curiosidades intelectuales de De Coninck: al tiempo que

<sup>19</sup> Es curioso notar que en la autodeclaración no aparece el segundo nombre 'Raymond': ¿lo adquirió en América? Más exactamente: vemos que firma *sin* él en 1653 y *con* él en 1655.

<sup>20</sup> Por gentil comunicación del Dr. D. Sacré y G. Tournoy, ahora he podido saber que la anterior inscripción biográfica lleva la siguientes anotaciones marginales; al comienzo: 'pride paschatis vesperi hora 7a' (dato verificado, pues en 1625 Pascua cayó el 30-III); más adelante: 'Examinatus sum et omnia approbavi. 20a Martij 1643; Examinatus sum et omnia approbavi. 4a Septembris 1643; Examinatus sum et omnia approbavi. 2a Aprilis 1644; Examinatus sum et omnia approbavi. 21a Septembris 1644'.

<sup>21</sup> Ambas las debo a la amabilidad del P. Butaye (Lovaina). La primera es una copia aparentemente del siglo XIX, procedente de un original del Archivo General del Reino (Bruselas); la segunda se ha conservado en copia del siglo XVII, incluida en un libro del Archivo de la Provincia Flandro-Belga (Lovaina), p. 327. A última hora el Dr. D. Sacré y G. Tournoy me informan que en el Archivo de la Provincia SJ Flandro-Belga existe una tercera carta de De Coninck (de 31-VII-1652), que el Dr. D. Sacré publica en apéndice a este artículo.



empalman satisfactoriamente con las ya documentadas bibliográficamente sobre su segunda fase peruana, permiten datarlas de varios lustros antes. El primer tema de consulta a Kircher<sup>22</sup> son tres inscripciones procedentes del Polo Ártico, de Tenerife y de la costa pacífica. El segundo trata de los fenómenos celestes, geológicos y marítimos observados entre el 28-XI y fines de 1652 en La Paz y otros lugares de Charcas (Oruro, Potosí, La Plata), del Perú (Cuzco, donde se hallaba durante aquellas semanas; Lima) y aun de Chile (¿había sido informado de ellos por Mascardi?); y de un terremoto en Kaylluma. De paso, le ‘confiesa’ con cierto pudor sus aficiones astronómicas, que databan por lo menos de la estadía sevillana: tenía un telescopio (perdido como efecto del naufragio), que en Lima tuvo que sustituir por otro de mucha menor capacidad.

La segunda carta reitera los principales puntos de la primera; luego se dedica a dar cuenta al P. Kircher de recientes sucesos de la guerra araucana (cuya fuente más probable es, de nuevo, su amigo el P. Mascardi).

Que las dos cartas llegaron a Roma lo certifica el hecho de que hasta hoy se guarden en el archivo epistolar de Kircher; es probable, por tanto, que éste les diera respuesta, aunque no conocemos su tenor. El abandono de la Compañía de Jesús por De Coninck sin duda contribuyó a cortar o, por lo menos, a enfriar la correspondencia apenas iniciada (aunque hay indicios de que en Lima mantuvo — por lo menos varias décadas después — buenas relaciones con sus antiguos compañeros jesuitas: en 1696, por ejemplo, su obra sobre la esfera lleva una aprobación del ex-Provincial peruano, el P. Francisco Xavier, quien recuerda el trato con él ‘desde que llegó a este reino y siempre he admirado y sumamente estimado con veneración su grande capacidad en todas letras, divinas y humanas, estudios mayores de Artes y Teología, Escolástica, Moral y Cátedra, y por ser sujeto de tan grandes prendas, conocidas de todos le

<sup>22</sup> Athanasius Kircher (Geisa, 1601- Roma, 1680), jesuita desde 1618, estudió en Colonia, Coblenza y Maguncia; empezó a enseñar en Wurzburg, de donde tuvo que huir a Francia en 1632: aquí vivió en Lión y Aviñón, donde empezó a interesarse por el desciframiento de los jeroglíficos. A partir de 1634 enseñó Matemáticas, Física y lenguas orientales en el Colegio Romano; allí formó el *Museum Kircherianum*, demostrando una curiosidad universal que le granjeó un prestigio internacional (de que ha quedado un elocuente testimonio en los 14 volúmenes de epistolario con el gremio sabio de su época). Sus contribuciones van desde los jeroglíficos egipcios hasta la teoría musical, pasando por la física de la luz y la hematología; uno de sus corresponsales lo definió como ‘non solum doctrina, sed humanitate magnum’. Ver C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 vols (Bruselas — París, 1890-1932), IV, 1046-1047; C. Reilly, *Athanasius Kircher SJ master of a hundred arts, 1602- 1680* (Wiesbaden — Roma, 1974).

escogió el Excmo. señor Conde de Santisteban por maestro de su hijo don Manuel de Benavides, y capellán de su casa, siendo virrey...'.<sup>23</sup>

Las dos cartas que aquí publicamos forman parte de un todo mucho mayor, cuyo centro es Kircher, no De Coninck; aun limitándolo a su epistolario con misioneros de tres continentes, los rasgos que presentan pueden verificarse en muchísimos otros casos.

Desde el punto de vista lingüístico, estas dos piezas sirven para ir ampliando el *corpus* latino de Charcas (actual Bolivia) y, por tanto, el colonial hispanoamericano: sin entrar en excesivas profundidades, salta a la vista que De Coninck manejaba el instrumento latino con maestría, lo que -a su vez- atestigua el nivel alcanzado o mantenido por la enseñanza humanística flamenca en la primera mitad del siglo XVII. Hay que tener en cuenta, por otro lado, que cuando trata de fenómenos astronómicos, el latín del siglo XVII contaba ya con una antigua y maciza tradición lexicográfica. En realidad, su latinidad presenta pocos casos de latinización de términos específicamente americanos (elude hacerlo, por ej., con 'Andes', prefiriendo la paráfrasis 'Alpes Peruanæ'); y presenta también alguna terminología suficientemente esotérica como para no haberla podido interpretar (p. ej. el enigmático 'unguentum armarium').

El interés que tienen estas dos cartas, para Bolivia en particular y para la historia intelectual hispanoamericana en general (sin descartar el que también tienen para su Flandes nativo), radica en que enriquece la escena intelectual, documentando la presencia de un espíritu profundamente interesado por las ciencias naturales y por mantenerse al día en los conocimientos europeos de su época; en que anticipa en Charcas el radio de acción de una personalidad que hasta ahora parecía haberse limitado a Lima. No puedo acabar sin expresar el deseo de que este trabajo estimule el descubrimiento de nuevas fuentes para conocer mejor la vida y la obra de esta singular figura, que también forma parte del mundo colonial charqueño.

Antes de dejar la palabra al P. De Coninck, vaya una breve advertencia sobre los criterios empleados en la transcripción: descartada cualquier pretensión de edición paleográfica, me contento con una versión suficientemente depurada y segura como para que merezca confianza. Así, he procurado regularizar la grafía del léxico (mantengo 'u/v' según

<sup>23</sup> J. T. Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, II, 218. Recordemos también el dato publicado por Vargas Ugarte sobre la disposición testamentaria para ser enterrado en el Colegio Máximo jesuítico limeño.

su respectivo valor vocálico o consonántico; en cambio unifico la dualidad 'i/j'; mantengo los grupos vocálicos 'ae' y 'oe' cuando así los usó el autor; para el uso de mayúsculas/minúsculas he seguido el criterio de su función sintáctica (sustantivos/adjetivos); se han indicado los casos de borraduras y palabras intercaladas; desarrollo sistemáticamente las abreviaturas; también queda constancia de unas pocas lecturas difíciles; finalmente, he procurado dar al texto la puntuación que mejor sirva a su comprensión.

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Bolivia

## TEXTO

Archivum Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae (Roma)  
P. Kircher, *Miscellanea Epistolarum*, vol. XIII (567)

### 1. Primera carta (Juli, 20-VII-1653)<sup>24</sup>

[f. 135<sup>r</sup>]

+

Reverende in Christo pater

Pax Christi

Ex ultimo paene orbis angulo, ad praecipuum orbis caput; ex Peruvia in Italiam; ex residentia Juliensi Romam hanc scribo, ignotus ad communi tantum orbis famâ notum. Si eam quam praeclari ingenii tui partus indidere notitiam et discipulus quondam R[everentiae] V[estrae] p. Nicolaus Mascardus<sup>25</sup> mihi communicavit excipias, quae si coacervem

<sup>24</sup> Juli, población situada en la orilla occidental del Tititaca y sede desde 1576 de una Residencia jesuítica (con 4 doctrinas de indios aymaras Lupaqa a su cargo), además de ser escuela de lenguas y en ciertos periodos de tiempo casa de Tercera Probación para los jesuitas.

<sup>25</sup> Niccolò Mascardi (Sarzana, Italia, 1624 — Santa Cruz, Argentina, 1674); consta inequívocamente que fue alumno del P. Kircher en sus estudios filosóficos (aprox. 1642-1645) en el Colegio Romano. Cf. H. Storni, *Catálogo de los jesuitas de la provincia del*

vel notissimus dici poterit, et ut desint haec omnia Belga Germaniae Inferioris ad Germanum scribo, qui solus anno 1647 ex 60 sociis tum Belgis tum Italis ad Indias Peruanas evasi,<sup>26</sup> nescio quo fato Hispali<sup>27</sup> tunc et 3º deinde anno Limae familiariter satis Mascardo usus, eam quam de V[estrae] R[everentiae] omnigena doctrina opinionem ex suis libris hauseram, vehementer auxit<sup>28</sup>; legeram quippe *artem Copticam*<sup>29</sup> et *Artem magnam lucis et umbrae*<sup>30</sup> (quam hic teneo) et expectationem magnam *Oedipi Aegyptiaci*<sup>31</sup>, quam in Belgio excitarat, nec ignoravi nec minorem habui, quae omnia moverunt animum ut obsequium R[everentiae] V[estrae] meum si qua in re proficuum esse possit offeram et de tribus hisce litterarum incognatarum sensu consulam.

Primas litterarum notas in lapidea cruce sculptas repererunt Hollandi in ultima septentrionis parte iuxta fretum Nassauicum, vulgo Vaygat<sup>32</sup>, in cuspide Novae Zemlae<sup>33</sup>, ut refert illorum itinerarium navigationis in Chinam intentatae per Joannem Huygens.<sup>34</sup>

*Paraguay (cuenca del Plata), 1585-1768* (Roma, 1980), 178; un buen resumen biográfico en G. Rosso, 'Niccolò Mascardi', 10-26 y en G. Furlong, *Nicolás Mascardi SJ y su Carta-relación (1670)* (Buenos Aires, 1963). Según Wicki, 'Die *Miscellanea epistolarum*', 241, llegó a Lima en 1650.

<sup>26</sup> Curiosamente no figura mencionado en L. de Aspurz, *La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas del Patronato Regio* (Madrid, 1946): en la lista de jesuitas identificados, sólo se registran dos expediciones de los años cuarenta: las de 1643 y 1648, ambas con destino a Filipinas y a México; durante todo el siglo XVII y con anterioridad a 1695, sólo figuran las expediciones de 1604 (todos italianos) y de 1616 (con alemanes, italianos y 3 belgas de la provincia flamenca), *ibid.*, 283-284.

<sup>27</sup> Ni Aspurz ni Storni registran la fecha del viaje de Mascardi a las Indias; por el texto de la carta se podría pensar que coincidió con él en Sevilla: en efecto, sabemos que desde mediados de 1647 el P. Alonso de Ovalle (jefe de la expedición) esperó en Sevilla la ocasión de embarcarse, sin poderlo hacer hasta VI-1650; ver W. Hanisch, 'Prefacio', en A. de Ovalle, *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1980), pp. XVI-XVIII. De Coninck, por su parte, debió partir hacia septiembre de 1647. Hubo, por tanto, un corto tiempo de coincidencia en Sevilla.

<sup>28</sup> Sobre las relaciones epistolares de Mascardi con Kircher, ver Rosso, 'Niccolò Mascardi', 29-30.

<sup>29</sup> Seguramente se trata del *Prodromvs coptvs sive Aegyptiacus*... (Roma, 1636).

<sup>30</sup> *Ars magna lucis et umbrae in mundo, atque adeo universa natura, vires, effectusque uti nova, ita varia novorum reconditorumque speciminum exhibitione*... (Roma, 1646).

<sup>31</sup> *Oedipus Aegyptiacus. Hoc est Vniuersalis Hieroglyphicae Veterum Doctrinae temporum iniuria abolitae instauratio*... (Roma, 1652-1654), 3 tomos en 4 volúmenes.

<sup>32</sup> Vaigach es la isla situada al sur de la de Nueva Zembla, entre los mares de Barents y de Kara, en la antesala del Mar Ártico, actualmente bajo soberanía rusa.

<sup>33</sup> Se refiere a la isla de Nueva Zembla, en el Mar Ártico: fue descubierta por el holandés Willem Barentsz en tres expediciones (1594-1596).

<sup>34</sup> Con las penurias bibliográficas tercermundistas, me he de limitar a dar una referencia conjetural: podría tratarse del *Itinerario, voyage, ofte schipvaert*... de Jan Huygen van

Secundas reperi in imagine Deiparae in Insula Tenerifa quae Canaria-rum est celeberrima et postmodum, impressas in libello Hispanico idiomate per P. fr. Alonsum de Espinosa impresso anno 1594,<sup>35</sup> quo de hac tantum insula tractat, et eandem quam ego horum characterum explicationem desiderat.

Tertias demum notas in hac Peruana provincia 15 ab urbe Limana lapide et 3 ab Indorum vico qui Mala vocatur (situs in itinere Limano Piscum versus), in alio Indorum vico qui dictus Calango<sup>36</sup> vicinior est Alpibus Peruanis<sup>37</sup>: habentur notae in rupe quae super terram prominet [f. 135<sup>v</sup>] duabus circiter ulnis<sup>38</sup>, planiciem habet longam 6 ulnis, latam tribus vel quatuor,<sup>39</sup> marmori caeruleo et albicanti similis, in qua planicie vestigium hoc bene formatum et tribus fere digitis altum<sup>40</sup>, lapidi impressum spectatur cum hisce notis. Fama est inter Indios (inter quos repertus unus 147 annorum qui rem omnem edocuit) fuisse hoc vestigium lapidi isti impressum ab ultima maiorum memoria et plurimis saeculis ab homine albo colore prout Europaei, qui vestitus incedebat tunica usque talos dependente, qui ipsis praedicabat Deum quendam factorem caeli et terrae, et in confirmationem eorum quae dicebat in illa durissima rupe digito sine ulla vi, perinde ac si in aqua vel arena scriberet istos efformarat characteres, et abiens reliquerat impressum illud vestigium,

Linschoten, aparecida en La Haya en 1596, con traducciones latina (1595; 1599) y alemana (Frankfurt del M., 1599), J. Alden — D. C. Landis, *European Americana. A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1776* (Nueva York, 1980), I, 231, 250; también veo mencionado un *Mapa del viage de los Olandeses, Año de 1595 i 1596 al Estrecho de Weigaz o Nasau, acia el Río Ovy; i el de la isla de Kilduine, i Uvarthusio, en Lapia*, cf. A. de León Pinelo — A. González de Barcia, *Epítome de la biblioteca* (Madrid, 1737), I, 501, 1436.

<sup>35</sup> Se trata de Alonso de Espinosa OP, *Del origen y milagros de la Sancta imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, que apareció en la isla de Tenerife con la descripción de esta isla*, (Sevilla, 1594); hay reediciones modernas de 1952 y 1967 y una versión inglesa de 1907. Cf. J. Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* (Madrid, 1971), IX, 693-694.

<sup>36</sup> Información procedente de fray Antonio de la Calancha OSA (quien — a su vez — reproduce una relación de fray Raimundo Hurtado OP), en la que leemos que 'Está Calango quince leguas de Lima, azia la sierra, tres de Mala i diez de Pachacam; fue pueblo grande antiguamente, i aora de cincuenta indios tributarios...', *Crónica moralizada del Orden de S. Agustín en el Perú...* [1639] (Lima, 1974-1982), 6 vols, II, 738.

<sup>37</sup> De Coninck se vale del topónimo europeo para designar a los Andes americanos.

<sup>38</sup> Aunque los diccionarios de latín clásico no recogen la acepción de longitud, podemos asignar a la *ulna* o 'brazo' la de 1,67 m.

<sup>39</sup> La plataforma lítica mencionada tendría, por tanto, 10 x 5.84 metros es decir, una superficie de 58 metros<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> El *digitus* como unidad de longitud, puede tener 1,8 cm.; por tanto, los casi tres dedos, darían una profundidad incisa de 5.61 cm.

qui lapis semper in magna apud eos veneratione habitus, vel maxime postquam Indus quidam, qui in contemptum communis venerationis voluit super eundem lapidem cum concubina rem habere, fulmine ictus interiit ipso in loco pariter cum muliere sacrilega, in cuius rei memoriam addiderunt Indi infra lineam rectam tres illos circulos concentricos prope pedis vestigium inferius; reliqui vero duo baculi cum tribus pariter circulis concentricis ex utroque vestigii latere, mihi visi magnam habere similitudinem cum fascibus quibusdam, qui inter caeteros Ingae praeferebantur et idem hic nonnulli approbarunt; aliqui suspicati sunt, dicere reliquos caracteres *Jesu Christi Didymus*, sed mera coniectatione eo quod S. Thomae vestigium esse arbitrentur ex communi traditione, quod vel ipse vel S. Bartholomaeus hunc orbem lustrarit, alterutrum enim per pay Zumè vel pay Tumè (ut illum Indi appellitant), intelligi volunt.<sup>41</sup> Sed genuinam a V[estra] R[everentia] exspecto interpretationem, si Deo placitum fuerit ut ab humano ingenio explicentur. Similiter si alterius lapidis caracteres qui in hac provincia extare dicuntur nactus fuero, pariter ad R[everentiam] V[estram] transmittam.

[f. 136<sup>r</sup>] His addo spectaculum quoddam in aëre visum 28 Novembris anno 1652 in urbe Pazensi, vulgo Chuquiabo<sup>42</sup>, hora 9 et 1/2 matutina quod plerosque illius urbis et adiacentium villarum habitantes exterruit: Sol nimirum albi coloris lancea traiectus et 5 circulis rubri coloris cinctus<sup>43</sup>, ut figura demonstrat<sup>44</sup>; Luna prope ipsum solem spectabatur cum integro signo abesset secundum cursum ordinarium; et ex ipso solari corpore, aut prorsus circa illum, visa exire stella et postea iterum ad locum suum prope solem redire. Varii insuper videbantur circa solem flammularum vortices quorum maximus ex rupe Ilimani (quae urbi Pazensi imminet) erumpere videbatur; per horam integram duravit hoc spectaculum; insequenti deinde mense Decembri, 15 die, apparuit ibidem Cometa geminus qui ab altero latere descriptus est in eadem carta<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Sobre esta derivación más del amplio tema de las tradiciones andinas sobre la protoevangelización americana, ver la nota 53.

<sup>42</sup> La escasez de fuentes coetáneas locales paceñas nos impide comprobar el testimonio de De Coninck con los de otros contemporáneos suyos; por desgracia La Paz no ha contado con diaristas o, si los tuvo, no nos han llegado sus productos.

<sup>43</sup> lancea... coloris: e cod. *supplevit D. Sacré*.

<sup>44</sup> La hoja en la que De Coninck representaba las diversas visiones del fenómeno astronómico no parece haberse conservado con la carta.

<sup>45</sup> Ya se ha indicado que falta la hoja adjunta con la representación gráfica de los fenómenos celestes.

decussatis caudis; et tertio perexiguo ex altero duorum promicante, ut ex figura patet<sup>46</sup>.

Idem cometa, quamvis non eadem figura, visus est eodem tempore in Chilensi provincia, Limae, Chuquisacae, Potosí<sup>47</sup>, Oruro et a me observatus Cusci<sup>48</sup>: apparuit 15 Decembris et ultimo eiusdem mensis die evanuit; ortus dicitur prope Argonavim<sup>49</sup> (primis enim diebus, aliis intentus, nec eundem spectavi nec ortum scivi); sed 20 Decembris eundem vidi prope stellam 1.9 mag[nitudinis?]<sup>50</sup> quae est in pede Orionis<sup>51</sup>; qui deinde per eius clypeum<sup>52</sup>, deinde iuxta Tauri<sup>53</sup> oculum ad Pleiades<sup>54</sup> declinans et vix unius geometrici pedis<sup>55</sup> distantia ab iis deflectens ad Septentrionem transiens inter pedem Medusae<sup>56</sup> et caput Persei<sup>57</sup> circa Cassiopeam<sup>58</sup> evanuit omnino ultimo Decembris. Primo illum caudatum Cusci et alibi spectarunt, sed tantum primis 8 diebus, postea enim paulatim cauda evanuit; ego illum spectavi semper instar stellae nebulosae quae est in Cancro<sup>59</sup> omnia circumcirca nebulosa

<sup>46</sup> Nueva alusión a la hoja adjunta con el dibujo del aspecto celeste, hoja que no ha llegado hasta nosotros.

<sup>47</sup> Para la fecha que indica De Coninck no encuentro mención del fenómeno en la *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* [1700-1736] de B. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, 3 vols (Providence, R. I., 1965); pero sí habla en 1656 de un cometa visto en Punu 'y en todo el Perú', II, 169.

<sup>48</sup> Tampoco hay rastro del fenómeno astral en las *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, de Diego de Esquivel y Navia, 2 vols (Lima, 1980).

<sup>49</sup> Se refiere a la constelación austral Nave de Argos, que los griegos consideraron una sola y que posteriormente ha sido descompuesta en cuatro: Carina, Vela, Pyxi y Puppis. Agradezco esta información y las que siguen al Ing. R. Cagigao (Sucre), aficionado a la observación de la bóveda celeste.

<sup>50</sup> Parece que De Coninck ya conocía la escala de clasificación de las estrellas por su brillo o luminosidad y que va en orden ascendente de 6 a 0 y luego sigue de -0 a -1,42 (Sirio). — Verba "i' mag" supra lineam sunt addita. Nonne intelligi potest "primae magnitudinis"? (D. Sacré).

<sup>51</sup> Se refiere a la constelación Orión; más precisamente, acaso al corazón del Can (Sirio).

<sup>52</sup> Lit. tanto puede significar 'escudo' como 'disco': quizás se trate del 'cinturón de Orión', conocido de los astrónomos.

<sup>53</sup> Constelación zodiacal Tauro, cuyo 'ojo' podría ser Aldebarán, bastante brillante, ya en el hemisferio norte. Su ubicación en ascensión recta: 4h 33'; en declinación: +16° 25'.

<sup>54</sup> Cúmulo cerrado o grupo de estrellas muy juntas. Ubicación en ascensión recta: 3h 40'; en declinación; aprox. +24°.

<sup>55</sup> El 'pie geométrico' equivale a 29,6 cm.

<sup>56</sup> Podría tratarse de Andrómeda.

<sup>57</sup> Constelación boreal, situada entre Casiopea, la Jirafa, el Cochero, Tauro, Aries, el Triángulo y Andrómeda.

<sup>58</sup> Constelación boreal, al norte de Andrómeda y al oeste de la Jirafa.

<sup>59</sup> Podría tratarse de la 'nebulosa de Cáncer' o, más exactamente, del OC (cúmulo abierto) Messier 44 o NGC 2632. Su ubicación aproximada en ascensión recta: 8h 40';

luce illustrantem ad duos palmos Hispanicos<sup>60</sup> seu pedem paene geometricum.<sup>61</sup>

Praeter haec Paucarcollae (Indorum pagus est prope lacum [f. 136<sup>v</sup>] Titicanum<sup>62</sup> seu Chucuitanum<sup>63</sup>) audita est tuba seu potius inflatum cornu magno temporis spatio ex aëre horribili sonitu cunctos terrens et eodem paene tempore Truxilli igneus e caelo globus decidens ingenti magnitudine per tria milliaría<sup>64</sup> terram radens usque ad mare cucurrit, cuius se inuoluens fluctibus per quinque leucas<sup>65</sup> et amplius omnes pisces interfecit, illico maris superficiem immensa copia obtegentes. Deus bene vortat<sup>66</sup> omina, omnes enim inuasit timor; utinam diuturnus.<sup>67</sup> A duobus mensibus ingens terraemotus Cailloma<sup>68</sup>, Indorum populum et argenti fodinas locupletes admodum, plane diruit; 14 homines occisi et alii 60 latitant sub ruinis, ut fert computus incolarum, necdum enim hactenus reperti aut effossi. Haec pauca quidem quae modo R[everentiae] V[estrae] scribenda occurrunt, et quidem plura scribere insequentibus annis optem, sed meliora: si quam observationem in sole vel luna hic fieri velit R[everentia] V[estra], quidquid operae potuero perlibenter impendam. Limae nullas in sole maculas anno 1649 deprehendere unquam potui, forsitan fuerit tubi<sup>69</sup> exilitas in causa, duas enim spitamas<sup>70</sup> vix excedebat, sine tubo in obscuro etiam in quavis

en declinación: +19° 30'. La trayectoria del cometa que puede deducirse del texto de De Coninck parece bastante plausible y típica: dentro de una orientación general de sur a norte, habría aparecido de 70 a 30 S, con una ascensión recta entre 6 y 11h; después de pasar cerca de Sirio (ascensión recta: 6h 42.9'; declinación: -16° 39'), habría llegado por la estrella Alnilam (central de las Tres Marías o Cinturón de Orión: ascensión recta: 5h 33.7'; declinación: -1° 14'), muy cerca del ecuador.

<sup>60</sup> Medida de longitud equivalente aprox. a 20 cm.; aquí, a unos 40 cm.

<sup>61</sup> Si el pie geométrico era de 29,6 cm., no puede ser el equivalente de dos palmos españoles. Conviene no olvidar nunca que, con anterioridad a la implantación del sistema métrico decimal, la metrología plantea innumerables problemas internos e interculturales, acrecidos todavía cuando el vehículo lingüístico es el latín (pues siempre subsiste la duda de si a los términos clásicos se dan valores antiguos o modernos).

<sup>62</sup> Lago Tititaca, por cuyo interior pasa actualmente la frontera boliviano-peruana.  
<sup>63</sup> La terminología colonial usó preferentemente la expresión '*laguna de Chucuito*' para designar el Tititaca.

<sup>64</sup> 'Milla' de 1.000 pasos, equivalente a 1.482 m.; aquí, a 4,445 km.

<sup>65</sup> La 'legua', unidad de medida gala, equivalía a 1.500 pasos romanos; es decir, a 2.223 m.; aquí, a 11,115 km.

<sup>66</sup> Forma equivalente a '*vertat*'.

<sup>67</sup> La inclinación moralizante estaba en la época; y se acentuaba entre el clero, aunque tuviera curiosidad y sensibilidad científicas.

<sup>68</sup> Población minera de la provincia de los Qullawa, en el actual Dpto. de Arequipa (Perú).

<sup>69</sup> Aquí De Coninck emplea, sin duda, el término en sentido adaptado de 'telescopio'.

<sup>70</sup> Medida de longitud equivalente al palmo o aprox. 20 cm.; aquí, a unos 40 cm.



distantia nunquam eas deprehendi, cum tamen Hispali antecedentibus<sup>71</sup> annis, sed tubo longiore (quem naufragium hausit in portu cum ceteris sarcinis), saepe saepius spectarim et aliis spectandas obiecerim.<sup>72</sup> Postmodum numquam experientiam sumere tentavi. Interim me Sanctis R[everentiae] V[estrae] sacrificiis enixe commendo sub quovis polo, Deo et R[everentiae] V[estrae] servire paratissimus. Juli in provincia Peruana Julii 20. 1653.

R[everentiae] V[estrae] servus in Christo  
Joannes De Coninck  
Soc[ieta]tis Jesu

Delineationem solis et cometae velim R[everentia] V[estra] communitet P. Othoni Zyllo Belgae<sup>73</sup>; et sciat R[everentia] V[estra] Mascardum valere, ut testantur quas a 2 mensibus e Chilensi provincia ab ipso accepi litteras: totam propugnavit Theologiam impressis ab ipso Thesibus, quae in Chile fuerunt primae.<sup>74</sup>

## 2. Segunda carta (Potosí, 31-VII-1655)<sup>75</sup>

[f. 137<sup>r</sup>]

+

Reverende in Christo Pater,

Pax Christi

Anno proximo elapso scripseram ad R[everentiam] V[estram] ex hoc Peruano orbis angulo certiore faciens rerum quarundam Indicarum ac

<sup>71</sup> antecedentibus: infe[rrioribus] *ante corr.*

<sup>72</sup> Queda aquí documentada la larga afición a la observación astronómica de De Coninck: por lo menos del tiempo sevillano (1646?/1647), sin que tampoco la abandonara en Lima.

<sup>73</sup> El P. Otto van Zyll SJ (Utrecht, 1588 — Malinas, 1656) se dedicó al comienzo a la enseñanza de la retórica; luego fue rector de los Colegios de 's Hertogenbosch y de Gante; pero vivió la mayor parte del tiempo en Bruselas, muriendo en Malinas; escribió varias cosas sobre hagiografía y devoción: ver Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, VIII, 1549-1550. De Coninck probablemente lo conoció durante sus estudios. Sobre él, ver D. Sacré, *Sidronius Hosschius (Merkem 1596 — Tongeren 1653), jezuiet en Latijns dichter* (Kortrijk, 1996), p. 26, *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> Rosso, 'Niccolò Mascardi', 15 (n. 21) confiesa no haber encontrado registrada esta pieza por ningún bibliógrafo y apunta que quizás se trate de un pseudoimpreso (p. ej. en xilografía) o de un impreso limeño. Efectivamente, no figura en Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-chilena*; pero tampoco en Vargas Ugarte, *Impresos peruanos*.

<sup>75</sup> Téngase presente que en la anotación de esta segunda carta omito repetir la información ya dada en la carta anterior.

primum quidem cuiusdam Cometae sub finem anni 1652 per totam hanc australem Americam visi, unde (omissis observationibus quas habui) nullam habere paralaxim<sup>76</sup> et in Europa etiam visum existimo; ortum habuit circa Argonavim et prope Andromedam, disparuit intra 15 dies, de quo latius tunc.

Similiter retuli et effigiem misi cuiusdam apparitionis in aëre circa solem quae prope Pazensem urbem visa fuit ac insuper consului R[everentiam] V[estram] circa litteras Latinas quae reperiuntur exaratae in statua perantiqua et miraculis insigni quae in Canariae Tenerifa insula reperitur et antequam insula ab Hispanis haec ab insulensibus imago in littore inventa.

Itidem circa alios caracteres repertos in quadam Cruce circa novae Zemblae littus quae habetur in itinerario Belgico Joannis Hugonis Linschotani<sup>77</sup>, folio 18 in delineatione geographica.

Insuper et hosce qui habentur in historia Peruana Augustinianorum idiomate Hispano per R[everendum] P[atrem] f[ratrem] Antonium de la Calancha, lib[ro] 2, c[apite] 3<sup>78</sup> descripta ex lapide perantiquo in pago Calango prope Limam ab ethnicis olim in honore habitus et dicuntur esse a D[ivo] Thoma Apostolo exaratae. Tres circuli qui habentur infra lineam et prope characterem anchorae speciem referentem, exarati dicuntur ab ipsis Indis, eo quod Indus quidam hoc super lapide peccans cum scorto fulmine ictus sit eodem loco et in rei memoriam appositum aiunt hoc signum, caetera ab Europaeo quodam sancto qui nobis et colore et barba similis erat<sup>79</sup>.

[f. 137<sup>v</sup>] Ad haec nescio an ullum a R[everentia] V[estra] acceperim responsum; certe ad manus meas non pervenit nec perveniet, hoc quippe anno litterae omnes quae ex Europa advenerant fecere naufragium, quare idem iterum peto a R[everentia] V[estra] ut hunc quem suscepit laborem dignetur renovare.

<sup>76</sup> Helenismo técnico que no he podido encontrar en los diccionarios del latín clásico; en cambio, sí lo recogen los franceses ('PARALLAXE. Moitié de l'angle sous lequel, d'un astre, on voit la Terre // Déplacement de la position apparente d'un corps, dû à un changement de position de l'observateur'), *Petit Larousse* (París, 1959), 749; y españoles ('PARALAJE. Diferencia entre las posiciones aparentes que en la bóveda celeste tiene un astro según el punto desde donde se supone observado'; y distingue entre los paralajes anua, de altura y horizontal), M. Alonso, *Enciclopedia del idioma*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1968), III, 3141.

<sup>77</sup> Jan Huygen van Linschoten (ver nota 10).

<sup>78</sup> Efectivamente, en el cap. 3 del lib. II de la *Corónica moralizada...*, II, 740-744 se trata de las huellas pétreas en Calango (el petroglifo que figura en la carta de De Coninck y que ha sido tomado de la reproducción de Calancha, corresponde a II, 742).

<sup>79</sup> Insuper... similis erat: *in epistula ipsa earum notarum invenitur delineatio*.

Postulavit denique amicus quidam meus cui quae de unguento armario [?]<sup>80</sup> et vitrioli [*del.* curatione] remedio seu medendi modo in Europa agitabantur enarravi, ut unguenti armarii confectionem et applicationem quae me latet a R[everentia] V[estra] ediscerem, ac insuper vitriolo medendi modum: quod facio modo, enixe postulans ut hunc pro me laborem libens suscipiat et pariter me quem potuero libenter pro V[estra] R[everentia] suscepturum promitto, et quacumque in re potuero inservire non cunctanter executurum. Si quid praeterea in Mathematicis (quorum R[everentiam] V[estram] ut oraculum veneror) novi repertum audiam perlibenter.

Chilensis regni stragem ab Indis rebellibus factam iam V[estra] R[everentia] noverit, vix eam effugit discipulus V[estrae] R[everentiae] Nicolaus Mascardus, qui non levi periculo ex quodam municipio ad Conceptionis urbem evasit.<sup>81</sup>

Duo acciderunt memoratu digna: in Araucensi castello, suburbiis dirutis et ab hoste occupatis, deficiebat aqua iamque triduo acri torquebantur siti; interea hostes quadam Christi imagine et alia B[eatae] Virginis e domo nostra quae in suburbiis erat, asportatis primum Christi imaginem fustibus et flagellis etiam in lignum crudeles ceciderunt; deinde Virginis deiparae (et quidem Immaculate Conceptae, ut addunt nonnulli) amputantes caput, hoc lanceis hastisque imposito «Io triumphe! Iam Christianorum Deus devictus iacet» plenis buccis concrepantes, caput imaginis Deiparae intra castellum proiecerunt superbe addentes: «En Dei vestri matris caput, de qua tot effutitis mendacia quot miracula, eia modo vos adiuvet et aquam subministret». Dictu mirum: illico ex eodem quo caput decidit loco, fons amoenus prorupit, quo non modo acris obsessorum sitis, verum etiam ignis bis ab hostibus accensus in castelli ligneo munimento extinctus est. Eodem tempore et loco alba quaedam columba ter castrum circuire visa quotidie cum in tota illa prov[inci]a nulla habeatur nec unquam [*f.* 138<sup>r</sup>] ab Hispanis intra castrum obsessis visa sit, aliis occisi seu truncati ab illis Christianorum Dei animam esse, aliis illius fratrem exclamantibus qui opem

<sup>80</sup> La palabra *armario* presenta una difícil lectura en el manuscrito; pero el hecho de que dos líneas más abajo luzca con claridad, obliga a dar esa lectura aunque presenta graves dificultades de comprensión.

<sup>81</sup> Este capítulo de la carta se basa, sin duda, en las noticias que De Coninck debía haber acabado de recibir del propio Mascardi sobre el destructor ataque de comienzos del mismo año 1655, en el que Mascardi perdió el observatorio que había construido en Buena Esperanza; ver Rosso, 'Niccolò Mascardi', 16-18, y W. Hanisch, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile* (Buenos Aires, [1974]), 50.

laturus adveniebat; unde territi cum intra biduum possent castrum occupare, necdum ausi fuerant assilire. Ego Virginem sub hac columbae specie hostes terruisse existimo, nisi quis Roma pamphiliam columbam<sup>82</sup> non modo Italiam orbis corculum, sed etiam hosce extremos orbis angulos praepeti volatu defensare dixerit. R[everentia] V[estra] enixe Deum roget ut semper hoc securus tutamine quam nactus spartam digne excolam, quod S[ancti]s suis sacrificiis assequar quibus me etiam atque etiam commendo. Potosii in Peruvio Julii 31 anno 1655.

R[everentiae] V[estrae] servus in Christo  
Joannes Ramon De Coninck

[f. 138<sup>r</sup>]

+

Reverendo in Christo Patri/ P. Athanasio Kirchero/ Societatis Jesu/  
Romae.

<sup>82</sup> Alusión al Papa entonces reinante, Inocencio X (1644-1655), en cuyo escudo figuraba la paloma de la paz. (Agradezco la noticia al Dr. G. Tournoy).

Dirk SACRÉ

QUELQUES LETTRES DE LA CORRESPONDANCE  
DE J. R. DE CONINCK SJ (1646-1652)

Vu le fait qu'il ne nous reste du Père De Coninck que peu de documents nous permettant de reconstruire sa vie, il nous a semblé utile d'offrir au lecteur ces quelques lettres de la main du jésuite. Il s'agit surtout de la missive de 1648, dont M. Barnadas connaissait la copie, conservée aux archives de la province flamande des jésuites à Heverlee, et dont l'original, se trouvant dans quelque fonds des Archives du Royaume à Bruxelles, était bien évidemment à peine accessible au chercheur vivant à plusieurs milliers de kilomètres d'ici.

Le hasard a voulu qu'il nous ait été possible de passer quelques jours à Rome afin d'y poursuivre, à la Grégorienne et en particulier aux Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, nos propres recherches sur les poètes latins de cette Compagnie. Nous avons saisi l'occasion pour fureter dans les *catalogi tertii personarum* (les annuaires de la province flandro-belge de la Compagnie, contenant les noms des jésuites, leurs résidences et leurs fonctions) et pour rétablir de façon certaine les années belges de De Coninck. Ne disposant que de deux ou trois matinées, nous n'avons pas pu étudier les nombreux documents du "Fondo gesuitico" de l' ARSI; il se pourrait donc que les lettres des *Indipetae* réservent des surprises au chercheur intéressé; en revanche, nous avons étudié les lettres adressées aux Pères de la province flandro-belge par le généralat des jésuites (nous en avons besoin pour notre propre enquête), et avons ainsi découvert deux lettres envoyées à Jean De Coninck; elles démontrent l'empressement avec lequel celui-ci désirait être missionnaire.

Les *catalogi tertii* de l'époque<sup>1</sup> montrent que De Coninck a parcouru une carrière tout à fait normale pendant ses années belges. Il fit ses humanités pour la plus grande partie au collège des jésuites de Malines.

<sup>1</sup> Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (= ARSI), Fl.-B., 45 pour la période 1633-1668.

Il y fut sans aucun doute le camarade de son concitoyen Philippe Couplet, qui était son aîné de deux ans et étudiait au même collège.<sup>2</sup> Au mois d'août de 1640, tous les deux incarnèrent des personnages dans la pièce qui y fut jouée au collège quatre fois de suite.<sup>3</sup> Couplet se trouvait en rhétorique, De Coninck en poésie. C'était l'année des grands spectacles pour célébrer le premier centenaire de l'Ordre; dans le collège de Malines, on avait construit un théâtre tournant, qui rendait possibles plus de dix changements à vue.<sup>4</sup> Sur ce plateau se jouait une pièce sur l'oeuvre et le progrès de la Compagnie de Jésus. En lisant le sommaire de la pièce, on remarque une grande ressemblance avec les premiers livres de la fameuse "Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu" (Antverpiae, 1640), le tableau commémoratif et le panégyrique du premier siècle de la Société, publié environ en même temps<sup>5</sup>: l'un et l'autre ouvrage décrivaient la naissance de la Compagnie et ses succès dans le monde entier. De la pièce de théâtre latine il existe encore le programme néerlandais, qui fut imprimé à Malines quelques jours avant les représentations; il est intitulé "Verbeeldinghe van der arbeit, ende vruchten der Societeijt Jesu in haere eerste eeuwe (...)" et mentionne les acteurs et leurs rôles.<sup>6</sup> Dans le prologue, De Coninck incarnait la figure allégorique de l'hérésie, tandis que dans le premier acte, Couplet jouait celle de la Compagnie. Le hasard fait souvent bien les choses: le troisième acte concernait la Compagnie et ses missions en Amérique: notre futur missionnaire y incarnait un roi indigène hostile à la venue et au prestige croissant de la Compagnie! Et l'humour ne manquait pas aux professeurs jésuites: voilà De Coninck faisant le "cleynen coninck", le petit roi!<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Pour la jeunesse de Couplet, le futur missionnaire de Chine, on consultera C.F. Waldack, 'Le Père Philippe Couplet, Malinois, S.J., missionnaire en Chine (1623-1694)', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 9 (1872), 5-31; P. Gordts, 'Philippe Couplet, a Jesuit in Belgium', in J. Heyndrickx (ed.), *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623-1693). The Man Who Brought China to Europe*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 22 (Nettetal, 1990), pp. 21-33.

<sup>3</sup> Nous tenons à remercier M. G. Proot de la K.U.Leuven, qui, grâce à sa banque de données informatisées, a pu nous renseigner sur cette activité théâtrale de De Coninck.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Anciens Pays-Bas (...)*, 2: *Les oeuvres* (Bruxelles, 1927), p. 545 note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Poncelet, *Histoire*, 2, pp. 546-549; T. Van Houdt, in D. Sacré (ed.), *Sidronius Hosschius (Merkem 1596 — Tongeren 1653) jezuïet en Latijns dichter. Publicatie n. a. v. zijn vierhonderdste verjaardag* (Kortrijk, 1996), pp. 122-124.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. Van Aerde, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het tooneel te Mechelen. Het schooldrama bij de jezuïeten* (Mechelen, 1937), pp. 44, 73, 156-165.

<sup>7</sup> Le programme nous permet d'établir une liste partielle des camarades de classe de De Coninck: 14 élèves de la poésie participèrent à la pièce de théâtre (Marc Coriache de

Admis dans la Compagnie de Jésus en 1642, Jean De Coninck s'établit au noviciat de Malines, sa ville natale, en 1642, où il faisait partie d'un groupe de vingt-deux novices sous la direction du P. Nicaise Bonaert. Il y fit certainement la connaissance de Ferdinand Verbiest et de François de Rougemont, qui y étaient entrés un an plus tôt; or, Verbiest manifestait très vite son désir de devenir missionnaire et a dû parler à son jeune confrère de son rêve de partir en Amérique, rêve que partageait François de Rougemont.<sup>8</sup> En octobre 1644, De Coninck fut transféré au collège de Louvain, dirigé par le P. Pierre Vanden Berghe, et y entama les cours de logique; sans doute y a-t-il suivi un cours de philosophie que donnait le Père Guillaume Becanus, célèbre par ses poésies latines.<sup>9</sup> Il y vivait en outre parmi ce groupe de futurs missionnaires qui, cette année-là, y suivaient les leçons de physique et qu'il avait rencontrés pour la première fois à Malines, notamment Verbiest et de Rougemont.<sup>10</sup> L'année académique suivante, De Coninck commença à son

Bruges, Gisbert Plempius d'Amsterdam, Gilles Jacobs, etc.). De ce groupe, personne n'entra dans la Compagnie (du moins dans la flandro-belge) — à moins que Jean de Hertoghe d'Hulst, que mentionne le programme, et Jean Hertogh de Gouda (mort à Malines en 1679, qui fut "près de 25 ans directeur des deux sodalités des jeunes gens à Malines: Poncelet, *Nécrologe*, p. 105) ne soient une seule et même personne.

<sup>8</sup> Pour la jeunesse de Verbiest, on consultera R. A. Blondeau, *Mandarijn en Astro-noom. Ferdinand Verbiest, s.j. (1623-1688) aan het hof van de Chinese Keizer* (Brugge — Utrecht, 1970) (surtout les pp. 170-176); N. Golvers, 'The Latin Youth Poetry of F. Verbiest, S.J., (° 1623 — † 1688) Rediscovered', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 296-322; H. Jossion — L. Willaert (edd.), *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623-1688), directeur de l' observatoire de Pékin* (Bruxelles, 1938), p. 2 (lettre de Verbiest à Vincent Carrafa, Courtrai 26 novembre 1646: "Nunquam speravi fore ut Missionis Indicae gratia, quam abhinc quinque annis constanter petii, etiam nunc Paternitatis (il faut lire *Paternitati*) Vestrae molestus forte essem."). Pour F. de Rougemont (au sujet duquel le Dr. N. Golvers de la K.U. Leuven prépare une nouvelle étude), nous nous sommes servi surtout de l'article de H. Bosmans, 'Lettres inédites de François de Rougemont, Missionnaire belge de la Compagnie de Jésus en Chine, au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 3<sup>e</sup> s., 9 (1913), 21-54, ainsi que de celui de J. Barten, 'Franciscus de Rougemont S.J. Een Maas-trichts Missionaris in het 17<sup>e</sup> eeuwse China (1624-1676)', *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 90-91 (1954-1955), 187-197. Ajoutons que tous les novices entrés en 1640 (hormis deux) et en 1641 — donc Verbiest, Couplet et de Rougemont et beaucoup d' autres, s'offrirent (fin 1641) à partir pour le Chili, offre dont on aura encore parlé au noviciat en 1642 (cf. J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., 37 (Roma — Paris, 1973), p. 288).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Sacré, *Hosschius*, passim.

<sup>10</sup> Ainsi qu'Hubert Henschenius et Gaspar Estrix. De Coninck fut certainement au courant du fait qu'au début de 1645, Verbiest s' était adressé une nouvelle fois au P. Général afin d'obtenir la permission de partir pour les Indes et qu'exactement comme en 1641, il avait essuyé un échec (cf. *Correspondance de Verbiest*, p. 1).

tour l' étude de la physique au collège de Louvain. Puis, en octobre 1646, il fut envoyé au collège d'Anvers pour y étudier à l' école de mathématiques que les jésuites y avait fondée en 1617 et qui jouissait d'une bonne réputation: à la lumière des activités ultérieures du scolastique, ce fait n'est pas surprenant, mais il prouve que les jésuites avaient bien discerné les talents particuliers de De Coninck. Le voilà donc qui suivait avec cinq autres scolastiques le cours de mathématiques du P. André Tacquet.<sup>11</sup> A Anvers, De Coninck eut comme recteur le P. Jean-Baptiste Uwens; c'est à lui qu'il enverra de Lima sa lettre du 31 mai 1650. En outre, De Coninck y fut sans aucun doute étroitement lié à Philippe Couplet, qu'il avait connu pendant ses humanités gréco-latines à Malines: à l'époque, Couplet enseignait la grammaire au gymnase anversoï.<sup>12</sup>

Le *catalogus tertius* nous offre une autre information non moins précieuse. Un supplément de celui d'octobre 1647 fait mention de ceux qui furent envoyés *in alias provincias*. Parmi ceux qui allaient partir pour le Pérou, nous trouvons les noms de Couplet, de Verbiest, de Pierre Queval et de... Jean De Coninck: ils avaient quitté le pays au mois de mai (1647)<sup>13</sup>, ajoute le catalogue.

La correspondance du P. Général, Vincent Carrafa, nous fournit des informations supplémentaires. En fait, ceux qui avaient la chance de pouvoir partir, en avaient déjà été informés personnellement par le P. Général. Plus particulièrement, De Coninck, qui, le 23 mars 1646, avait exprimé (une nouvelle fois?) son désir de partir pour les missions, en reçut la nouvelle un mois et demi après: le 5 mai, le P. Général put lui annoncer la bonne nouvelle:

Lovanium Joanni de Coninck.

Perge alacriter quo mitteris a D[omi]no et crescas spiritualiter in mille millia. Intellexeris modo sine dubio designationem tui ipsius in

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. Meskens, 'The Jesuit Mathematics School in Antwerp in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century*, 12 (1997), 11-22; O. Van de Vyver, 'L'école des mathématiques des jésuites de la province flandro-belge au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, 49 (1980), 265-278. Tacquet (1612-1660) enseigne à Louvain durant les derniers mois de 1644 et au début de 1645; pendant les années académiques 1645-1649, l'école des mathématiques fut transférée à Anvers. En 1644-5, Verbiest avait suivi ses cours à Louvain. L'on remarque l'analogie de la "carrière" de Verbiest et de celle de De Coninck.

<sup>12</sup> A Anvers vivait également (1645-1652) le P. Cabilliau (1568-1652), dont Rome appréciait beaucoup les poésies latines: cf. D. Sacré, 'Een Latijns jezuïetendichter uit de zeventiende eeuw: Balduinus Cabillavius', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 14 (1998), 107-117.

<sup>13</sup> De Coninck n'avait donc pas encore terminé son année de mathématiques à Anvers.



Provinciam Peruanam a P[atre] v[estro] Pro[vincia]li<sup>14</sup>; quare amplius non occurrit ad datam a te 23 Martii, quam ut apprecer iter prosperum et messem uberrimam et demum me quoque commendes tuis precibus. 5. Maii [1646].<sup>15</sup>

ut: *supra lin. add.*

quoque: *supra lin. add.*

Dans la seconde moitié de 1646, De Coninck disposait déjà de la promesse d'une somme d'argent de la part d'un confrère et demanda au P. Général s'il pouvait accepter la somme; de Rome il reçut la réponse suivante du 17 novembre 1646:

Antverpium Joanni de Coninck.

Bene et cum fructu precor cedat tibi et animabus Peruanae provinciae iter quod suscepturus es in illam vineam. Eleemosynam ducentorum florenorum, quam in subsidium itineris paratus est tibi erogare cariss[im]us noster Cornelius van Thuy<sup>16</sup> si accesserit consensus meus, o[mn]i[n]o facultatem facio ut et ille donet et tu accipias; expendas quo nunc indicabunt expedire Sup[er]ior[es] tui. De cetero affluentiam donorum caelestium a Deo precor tibi et vicissim me commendo tuis precibus. 17 Novem[bris] [1646].<sup>17</sup>

erogare: dare *ante corr.*

La lettre parvint en Belgique vers la fin du mois de novembre de 1646. Quant à Ferdinand Verbiest, il ne figura pas parmi les désignés; ayant appris que quelques-uns de ses confrères (parmi eux son ami De Coninck) avaient plus de chance, il grogna quelque peu à propos de son propre malheur.<sup>18</sup> En décembre 1646, la liste officielle des candidats admis pour le Pérou mentionna Queval (qui se distingua plus tard comme missionnaire en Hollande et mourut à Anvers en 1678)<sup>19</sup>, Canisius, Eeckmans, Couplet

<sup>14</sup> Le P. André Judoci (Provincial jusqu'au 2 septembre 1646).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>16</sup> Décédé à Bréda en décembre 1673: Poncelet, *Nécrologe*, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> ARSI, Fl.-B., 6<sup>1</sup> (*Epp. gen.*), p. 231. Le même jour, le P. Général écrivit également à Queval: "Quod segregatus sis a Deo ad opus suum et lucrum animarum in Peruana Provincia tibi gratulor et Deum oro ut crescas ibi spiritualiter in mille millia. (...) (*ibid.*)"

<sup>18</sup> Cf. sa lettre de Courtrai, 26 novembre 1646, adressée au P. Carrafa à Rome, et la réponse de celui-ci (23 février 1647) (*Correspondance de Verbiest*, pp. 2-3 et 4).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Poncelet, *Nécrologe des jésuites de la province Flandro-Belge* (Wetteren, 1931), p. 105. Notons que le *Nécrologe* ne mentionne pas le Père De Coninck, bien que Poncelet se soit proposé d'ajouter "les noms de quelques Pères, qui, admis dans la province flandro-belge, se sont illustrés dans les missions lointaines ou dans des provinces étrangères" (p. CLXV). Mais la raison de cette omission est évidente: De Coninck a quitté la Compagnie plus de dix ans après son arrivée au Pérou.

et De Coninck. Une lettre du 15 décembre 1646, envoyée par le P. Général au P. Provincial, le prouve clairement<sup>20</sup>:

Hisce demum significo R[everentiae] V[est]rae post maturam deliberationem mentem meam de propositis a V[est]ra R[everenti]a ad Indicas missiones. (...) In Peruanam destinentur quinque, videlicet P. Petrus Canisius<sup>21</sup>, Petrus Queval, Joannes de Coninck, Augustinus Eeckmans<sup>22</sup> et Philippus Couplet. (...) Si quos ex his contingat mori vel morbo impedi quominus tempori proficisci possint, R[everenti]a V[est]ra alium substituat, exceptis iis qui propriis impensis iter facturi sint, nisi et substituendi viaticum quoque habeant. De tempore porro quo solvere debeant in Hispaniam R[everenti]a V[est]ra conveniat cum Procuratoribus praedictarum missionum et ad extremum me commendet Deo suis s[anct]is sacrificiis atque precibus. 15. Decemb[ris] 1646.<sup>23</sup>

R[everentiae] V[est]rae: *supra lin. add.*  
proficisci: *ire ante corr.*  
quoque: *supra lin. add.*

Les veinards trépignaient d'impatience et se demandaient quand ils pourraient partir; ne pouvant leur fournir de réponse, le nouveau P. Provincial s'informa à la fin du mois près du P. Général, qui répondit le 3 janvier 1647 que l'on embarquait ordinairement d'Espagne vers le mois d'août et qu'afin de limiter les frais il valait mieux que les missionnaires n'arrivassent à Séville qu'au mois de juin ou de juillet; mais que si l'occasion se présentait de faire la traversée à peu de frais, il fallait bien sûr en profiter:

P. Joanni Baptistae Engelgrave Pr[ovincia]li.  
Quod sciscitabatur R[everenti]a V[est]ra extremo Novembri de tempore quo designatis in Indiam proficiscendum esset isthinc in Hispaniam, pendet fere ab ipsis procuratoribus provinciarum<sup>24</sup>, quorum

<sup>20</sup> Le P. Jean-Baptiste Engelgrave (à partir du 3 septembre 1646), succédant au P. André Judoci (Provincial à partir du 9 juin 1641).

<sup>21</sup> Décédé à Ruremonde en février 1649: Poncelet, *Nécrologe*, p. 65; L. Van Miert, in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 5 (Leiden, 1921), coll. 98-99. Ce Pierre Canisius était le fils de Jean, un des frères de St. Pierre Canisius (cf. P. Begheyn, 'Die Familie Kanis aus Nijmegen', in J. Oswald — P. Rummel (edd.), *Petrus Canisius — Reformator der Kirche. Festschrift zum 400. Todestag des zweiten Apostels Deutschlands* (Augsburg, 1997<sup>2</sup>), pp. 9-20 (p. 18)).

<sup>22</sup> Décédé à Louvain en décembre 1680: Poncelet, *Nécrologe*, p. 107.

<sup>23</sup> ARSI, FL.-B., 6<sup>1</sup> Epistolae generalium [= *Epp. gen.*; concernent la période novembre 1643 — mai 1664], p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> Le P. Procureur de la province du Pérou fut Barthélemy Tafur (1589-1665) (cf. *Correspondance de Verbiest*, p. 3). Quant au Père Provincial du Pérou (la Mission du

plerique susceperunt in se curam monendi suos de tempore itineris. Ceterum si aut eius oblivio ipsos caperet aut litterae interciderent, illud in genere dici potest, quod, cum classis Indica ex Hispania non ante Augustum credatur solutura, disponant designati ita iter suum ut Hispali esse possint mense Iunio vel ad summum Iulio; neque enim expedit citius multo eos illuc appellere, ut sumptibus parcat. Nihilominus si mari faciendum sit iter, captanda est occasio navigandi quando se offert, ne elapsa quaeratur frustra. (...) 3. Januarii [1647].<sup>25</sup>

non: *supra lin. add.*

Entretiens, la liste des missionnaires a dû subir des changements. En janvier, le P. Général informa Philippe Couplet que celui-ci ne pourrait pas partir en Amérique.<sup>26</sup> Verbiest, nous l' avons dit, n' avait pas été désigné et en était déçu.<sup>27</sup> En ce qui concerne Canisius et Eeckmans, ils se sont heurtés à des obstacles, dont nous n' avons pas encore pu examiner la nature. Restèrent donc Queval et De Coninck. Mais un peu plus tard, Couplet et Verbiest furent repêchés. En avril 1647, Verbiest, qui enseignait à Courtrai sous la direction du célèbre latiniste Sidronius Hoschius, apprit que son départ pour les missions était imminent.<sup>28</sup> Au collège d' Anvers, où De Coninck se trouvait également, Couplet<sup>29</sup> reçut la même bonne nouvelle. Il n' y a pas de doute possible: Couplet, Verbiest, Queval et De Coninck sont partis en Espagne, pour y embarquer pour le Pérou. Or, de ces quatre hommes, seul De Coninck ira effectivement au Pérou. Le catalogue de l' année 1648 mentionne en effet, parmi les "Indipetae reduces ex Hispaniis Novemb[ri] et Decemb[ri] 1647", les noms des trois *studiosi* Couplet, Queval et Verbiest.<sup>30</sup> Apparemment, les

Pérou avait ce statut de province à partir de 1568), ce fut, de 1645 à 1650 le P. François Luperrius de Zurbano.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>26</sup> "Antverpiam Philippo Couplet [*sic*]. Laudo ardorem quo te impelli scribis ad ferendam salutis opem barbaris nationibus; et alias forte tibi erit locus; nunc impletus est numerus mittendorum. Fove igitur in te ipso in alia tempora hosce igniculos pietatis: nam amanti laborum et aerumnarum pro Christo nusquam deerunt suae Indiae. Gratia D[omi]ni sit affluentiss[im]e tecum. Commendo me vicissim tuis precibus. 26. Jan[uarii] 1647" (ARSI, Fl.-B., 6<sup>1</sup> (*Epp. gen.*), p. 247, lettre du P. Général à Couplet; cf. également p. 253 (lettre du 23 février 1647 du P. Général à Couplet, cette fois positive).

<sup>27</sup> Pour Verbiest, cf. ARSI, Fl.-B., 6<sup>1</sup>, p. 253 (lettre du P. Général à Verbiest, 23 février 1647 = *Correspondance de Verbiest*, p. 4).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.a. Blondeau, *Mandarijn en Astronoom*, p. 175.

<sup>29</sup> qui y enseignait la grammaire: cf. le *catalogus tertius* de 1646-1647 (ARSI, Fl.-B., 45). Les biographes modernes ne sont pas d' accord sur la résidence de Couplet pendant cette année.

<sup>30</sup> Avant de finir leur cours de théologie et de partir pour la Chine, Verbiest et Couplet se voueront à l' enseignement après leur retour d' Espagne: pendant les années 1648-1650, Couplet enseignera à Courtrai; de 1648 à 1653, Verbiest enseignera à Bruxelles.

autorités espagnoles s'opposèrent à ce que trop de Flamands affluassent au Pérou, et les jésuites espagnols considéraient la province du Pérou surtout comme leur propre territoire.

L'on peut se demander si Couplet, Verbiest, De Coninck et Queval ont voyagé ensemble jusqu' à Séville ou Cadix, d' où ils devaient embarquer pour les "Indes". En ce qui concerne Couplet et Verbiest, une tradition tenace veut qu'ils aient fait le voyage avec six autres Flamands sous la direction du P. Corneille Beudin (ou Godinez, né à Gravelines en 1615): c'est ce qui ressortirait d'une lettre de Beudin (Cadix, 28 mai 1647) mentionnant les noms de ses compagnons de voyage.<sup>31</sup> Cette hypothèse (qui suppose que De Coninck ait fait le voyage tout seul ou en compagnie d'autres confrères) n'est pas invraisemblable; mais, pour autant que nous puissions en juger, la lettre ne dit pas que ces huit hommes aient voyagé ensemble de Flandre (du port d'Ostende) à Cadix: elle dit que Beudin se trouvait déjà depuis quelque temps à Cadix et qu' un groupe de huit venait de se constituer: ils étaient sur le point de partir de Cadix pour Séville, avec l'intention de retourner à Cadix pour le voyage vers les missions.

Quoi qu'il en soit, De Coninck semble bien avoir passé quelque temps à Séville. Ayant pris congé de ses confrères Queval, Verbiest et Couplet (qui allaient rentrer en Belgique vers la fin de l'année), il prit le bateau, vraisemblablement en automne. Selon ses dires, il fut le seul d'un groupe de 60 *socii* à atteindre le Pérou.<sup>32</sup> Ce renseignement nous permet d'exclure la possibilité que De Coninck et Corneille Beudin aient traversé ensemble l'Atlantique.<sup>33</sup>

De Lima, où il était arrivé le 21 juillet 1648, De Coninck écrivit le 20 octobre suivant: il s'agit de la lettre dont M. Barnadas a vu la copie et dont nous avons retrouvé l'original aux Archives du Royaume<sup>34</sup>. Le nom

<sup>31</sup> Cf. p. ex. Blondeau, *Mandarijn en Astronoom*, p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. sa première lettre à Kircher, publiée par M. Barnadas.

<sup>33</sup> Beudin fit le voyage avec 14 compagnons (dont 4 jésuites espagnols, 4 Pères de la flandro-belge et 4 Pères de la gallo-belge); il s'embarqua à Cadix le 13 juillet 1647 et arriva à Vera Cruz le 20 septembre 1647. Le récit assez détaillé de son voyage se lit dans la *Relatio triplex de rebus Indicis. I. R. P. Cornelii Beudini, dicti Godinez, martyrium* (...) (Antverpiae, 1654), pp. 15-23. La rédaction latine de cet ouvrage anonyme est attribuée le plus souvent au P. Jacques Vande Walle (Wallius, 1599-1690), un des poètes latins les plus célèbres de la flandro-belge.

<sup>34</sup> Bruxelles, Archives générales du Royaume, Jesuitica, Flandro-Belgica, L 872-915; ces dossiers (cf. A. Gaillard, *Inventaire sommaire des archives de la Compagnie de Jésus conservées aux Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1907), p. 15) contiennent une liasse de "Lettres des Missionnaires du Pérou 1642-1671 et 1755"; la

du destinataire n'y est pas indiqué<sup>35</sup>, mais tout porte à croire que la lettre fut adressée à son dernier recteur belge (à Anvers), le Père Uwens, auquel fut écrite également sa lettre de mai 1650, bien qu'Uwens ne fût à l'époque ni Provincial ni même, comme le supposa M. Barnadas, recteur du collège de Malines: en effet, pendant l'année 1649-1650, le Père Jean-Baptiste Uwens vivait au collège de Bruxelles en tant que *confessarius*.<sup>36</sup> En tout cas, le Père auquel De Coninck écrivit, lui était bien connu et De Coninck le remercia pour les bienfaits dont il l'avait comblé: encore un argument en faveur d'Uwens, nous semble-t-il. Voici le texte de la lettre que M. Barnadas a résumée<sup>37</sup>:

+ Reverende in Chr[ist]o Pater,

pax Chr[ist]i. [1] Ubi primum Limano collegio pedem intuli, differre nequaquam potui peracti favente votis Deo itineris R[everentiam] V[estram] facere certiore. Id quidem feci ex Bello portu<sup>38</sup> iterumque ex Panama, uti debui; nunc vero, ubi ad terminum perveni, tanto libentius facio, quo tamquam ex portu iam securus praeteritas tempestates enarro. Quas licet paucas perpessus sum in mari, non defuere tamen, et tanto graviore in terra expertus sum. Communis et omnium maxima fuit Hispalensis contra externos omnes a nostris praecipue, ut clarius in via a procuratore intellexi, excitata; sed hanc praetereo: satis enim iam pridem de hac sat superque R[everentiae] V[estrae] constitit, cum tot vivos eius habuerit nuntios.<sup>39</sup> [2] Inde igitur exordium sumens, ubi in praeteritis litteris desii, Panamae 23a Decembr[is] magna cum caritate exceptus, ipso trium Regum die<sup>40</sup> revocatis iuxta morem votis, ardentem in febrim incidi, quae me usque ad 21 Martii in lecto afflixit, excepta praecise

lettre de De Coninck se lit au f. 54<sup>r-v</sup>. Nous ne nous sommes pas occupé de la copie, qui date de la fin du 19<sup>ième</sup> ou du début de ce siècle.

<sup>35</sup> Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un autographe, mais la moitié droite de la feuille, comportant le nom et l'adresse du destinataire, en a été coupée.

<sup>36</sup> Voir le *catalogus tertius* d'octobre 1649 à l'ARSI. Le recteur du collège bruxellois était le P. Ferdinand Del Plano; on y retrouve aussi les PP. Van Torre, Hesius, Wallius et Zylius, tous de bons latinistes, ainsi que Ferdinand Verbiest, qui y enseignait le grec.

<sup>37</sup> En lisant les lettres publiées par M. Barnadas, le lecteur averti aura remarqué que De Coninck ne maniait pas le latin avec la même élégance qu'un Wallius ou un Hoschius. Ces caractéristiques ne font pas défaut dans cette lettre non plus: quelques anacoluthes mises à part, l'on notera par exemple l'emploi de *furor* comme substantif féminin, l'imparfait *coegebat*, l'emploi peu classique de *uti* avec l'accusatif.

<sup>38</sup> Portobello.

<sup>39</sup> Comme Verbiest, Couplet et Queval, qui retournèrent de Séville en Belgique à la fin de 1647.

<sup>40</sup> Le 6 janvier.

s[ancto]rum Soc[ieta]tis martyrum octava.<sup>41</sup> [3] Iterumque sanitati restitutus, 27 April[is] Pacificum ingressus mare — nobis satis adversum extitit: quippe vix 45 dierum spatio littus Peruanum extra Panamensem sinum (quod 300 leucarum iter est) attingere potuimus. Fatalis Peruano in littore, antequam Panamensem egrediantur sinum, ad laevam iacet insula, cui fatale Gorgonis nomen impositum, vulgo La Gorgona, in quam si naves in Peruvium tendentes inciderint, absque progressus spe Panamam repetere et novum inde rhombum assumere coegebat [*sic*], quod hactenus factum semper: si enim progredi volebant, tanto adverso undarum totiusque maris impetu devolvebantur, quantum ventorum vi ascendeabant, ita ut hoc immobiles sensu puncto in eodem haerent. Unde fortassis eidem insulae Gorgonis nomen inditum, quod et illa<sup>42</sup> similiter se intuentes saxeos et immobiles redderet. Una solummodo navis duobus abhinc annis evaserat successu antea inaudito.[4] In hunc offensionis lapidem, cum prope nos abesse a Paytano<sup>43</sup> portu existimaremus, incidisse agnoscimus. Cumque taederet omnes tot in navigatione hac dies inutiliter consumptos, navarchus pudore et ira frendens nequaquam reverti obfirmavit animum, et contra furiosos maris impetus quantis potuit velis insurgere coepit, sed frustra. Vanas sine viribus iras agnoscens, ne in littus, quod barbari crudelissimi et Christianis infensissimi inhabitant, / [f. 54<sup>v</sup>] eiceremur, adverso mari se submittere et Panamam versus relegere cursum destinabat, cum subito occidente sole tanta orta est [*sic*] ventorum furor, ut initium tempestatem gravissimam portendere videretur. Sub initium vela aliquot in parte discupit uti et malum unum, qui licet non secundus esset nobis, neque etiam adversus fuit. [5] Quare ea nocte tanto nos ab insula ad interioris maris partem submovit, ut deinde facili negotio eluctari et institutum iter proseguere potuerimus, ita ut post 45 dies, qui plerumque huic itineri impenduntur, ad ipsum portum Paytanum appulsa sit navis, ipso festi Corporis Christi<sup>44</sup> pervigilio, quem<sup>45</sup> hoc in oppidulo festivitate quam ab Indis sperari potest longe maiori celebratum summa cum voluptate aspexi. [6] Hinc socii

<sup>41</sup> Probablement le jour de fête de trois martyrs japonais (5 février) — mais ceux-ci furent béatifiés en 1627 et ne furent canonisés qu'au 19<sup>ième</sup> siècle: cf. L. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt*, 1 (Paderborn, 1934 = Löwen-Heverlee, 1962), col. 555 ('Feste der GJ').

<sup>42</sup> La Gorgone, plus particulièrement Méduse.

<sup>43</sup> Paita.

<sup>44</sup> Le jeudi suivant le premier dimanche après la Pentecôte.

<sup>45</sup> De Coninck utilise-t-il *festus* (= *festus dies*) au lieu de *festum*?

mari iterum usque portum Callaensem<sup>46</sup> 2 leucis Lima distantem perrexere; me vero R[everendus] P[ater] Procurator cum altero socio terra secum duxit itinere 200 leucarum Limam usque, quo 21 Iulii adveni et summa caritate et benevolentia exceptus sum, et tanto hic maiorem, quanto minorem in Hispania<sup>47</sup>, unde huc transmigrasse Soc[ieta]tis caritas videtur. [7] Iterumque videbar mihi in Belgium rediisse, cum tantam hic observantiam disciplinamque domesticam inveni, quae sane est maxima. Hic modo theologiae cursum incepti<sup>48</sup> et animo dego contentissimo, uti in via semper extiti, dummodo, quae unica Belgium relinquendi causa fuit, aliquam absolutis studiis Indorum missionem consequar; cuius favente Deo non exigua et paene certa modo spes affulget. Iam nunc enim vidi Aragonensem sacerdotem, qui nobiscum venerat, praeuntem. Qui vix advenerat, cum illico ad Iuliensem<sup>49</sup> residentiam, ubi Indicas addiscat inter Indos linguas, missus est. [8] Quare modo quantum possum me s[anctissimi]s R[everentiae] V[estrae] sacrificiis et precibus totius provinciae commendo, ut Deus opt[imus] max[imus], qui me huc usque contra multorum opinionem perduxit feliciter (nullis meis meritis illud promerentibus), ulterius ad finem tam optatum perducere dignetur, ut spiritum plus quam duplicem infundat, quo tot dilectissimorum sociorum meorum, qui huc usque perrumpere non potuerunt, vices supplere possim et multas miserarum desertarumque animarum turbas, quae tanto numero in hoc vastissimo terrarum tractu quotidie pereunt, mecum ad caelum educere, et ibidem R[everentiam] V[estram] revisere et eidem pro omnibus praestitis beneficiis gratias agere meritissimas. Hoc summum et unicum est quod R[everentiam] V[estram] rogo et obtestor tamquam etiamnum subditus R[everentiae] V[estrae], qualem me semper agnoscam. Limae 20 Octobr[is] 1648.

R[everentiae] V[estrae] humillimus in Chr[ist]o servus  
Joannes De Coninck

[mg. addidit al. m.:] Jo[ann]es de Coninck  
1648 Missio ultramar[ina]  
N. 24

<sup>46</sup> Callao.

<sup>47</sup> Anacoluthe: après *caritate exceptus sum*, il faut lire *et tanto maiorem (caritatem expertus sum)*.

<sup>48</sup> A Lima, il y avait la maison professe des jésuites, le noviciat, un séminaire ainsi que le collège Saint-Paul, où se donnaient également les cours de philosophie et de théologie: cf. e. a. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, 2, 1403-1405 ('Peru').

<sup>49</sup> Juli, sur les rives du lac Titicaca.

[1] Id quidem: *repet. ante corr.*

[3] In Peruvium: *in supra lin. add.*

La deuxième lettre de Jean De Coninck que nous publions ici, ne nous est connue que par une copie contemporaine, conservée aux archives jésuitiques de la province flamande à Heverlee.<sup>50</sup> Il n'en reste qu'un fragment, qui traite des tremblements de terre survenus depuis l'arrivée de De Coninck en Amérique. La lettre date du 31 mai 1650 (De Coninck faisait sans doute sa deuxième année de théologie) et est adressée au P. J.-B. Uwens:

A° 1650

31 Maii

Joannes de Coninck Lima ex Peru  
ad P. Joannem Baptistam Uwens.

Eodem quo Indiam a[nno] attigi, id est 1647, corruit horrendo terrae motu urbs S[ancti] Jacobi, caput regni Chilensis<sup>51</sup>, sequenti urbs Manila in Philippinis seu Molinis Insulis<sup>52</sup>, similiter urbs primaria, ac modo elapso mense urbs Susquensis<sup>53</sup> in hoc regno Peruviano. Eadem ex causa fit ut trecenti sexaginta amplius terrae motus unius mensis spatio terram horribili motu animorumque ingenti tremore ac perturbatione concusserint. Dubio procul irata Dei manus, ob scelera nostra ostensa, minitatur.

La troisième lettre, adressée à un inconnu (le P. Uwens?) provient du même manuscrit (pp. 341-342); ici encore, le texte intégral n'a pas été copié: le copiste en a extrait "duo memoratu digna" (comme De Coninck écrivit dans sa deuxième lettre au P. Kircher), deux anecdotes prodigieuses et moralisatrices (se passant à Trujillo et à Lima), comme on en trouve des dizaines dans les *Historiae domus* et d'autres documents de l'époque. La lettre date du 31 juillet 1652; De Coninck se trouvait à Cuzco.<sup>54</sup>

Cuzcho ex Regno Peruano

A° 1652

P. Joannes de Coninck 31 Julij

<sup>50</sup> Heverlee, Archief van de Vlaamse provincie der jezuieten, manuscrit relié et ayant appartenu au collège d'Anvers ("Colleg. Antverp. Soc. Jesu N° 86.c.15" dit l'étiquette; au dos, une autre étiquette portant le numéro 452, et les mots "Perlat[ae] ex Indiis ab anno 1609"), p. 327. Frontispice: "Indica ab Anno 1609. ex Privatorum litteris accepta".

<sup>51</sup> Santiago de Chile.

<sup>52</sup> Manille, capitale de l'archipel espagnol des Philippines.

<sup>53</sup> Cuzco.

<sup>54</sup> Les jésuites y avaient un séminaire et un collège.



Accidit modo Trugilli<sup>55</sup>, quod clericus quidam, qui Lima mulierem secum duxerat, quacum annos aliquot male vixerat, in morbum incidit; nihilominus clericum ad peccandum exhortans, clerici morbum accepit. Ille vero convaluit, ac repente tantum mulieris crevit infirmitas, ut intra paucos dies expirarit. Vix infelicem exhalarat animam, quando domus ostium pulsare Aethiopes bini, quorum alter fraenum manu gestabat, aperienti clerico asserentes se mulam quandam quaerere, quam ipse in domo custodiebat; neganti ullam in domo mulam versari vim inferentes domumque ingressi, muliebri cadaveris ori fraenum imposuerunt et cum illo avolantes domum factore, clericum pavore compleverunt.

Abhinc novem mensibus accidit quod religiosus quidam Lima fugiens, in Hispaniam tendens, exuit habitus religiosos, ut facilius lateret, et Trugillum perveniens, ratem perexiguam, quam sex Indi movebant qua velo, qua remis, conscendit. Pajtam<sup>56</sup> attigit intra triduum, hinc Panamam tendebat ratis, quod 15. dierum iter ad summum esse solet; hinc eo navigantes vix littus deseruerant, quando horribili / [p. 342] insolitoque fragore concussum mare ab imis sedibus ratem sic assidue involvit fluctibus, ut illam quaelibet unda haustura videretur; sic tribus et amplius mensibus navigatum, donec vindicem Dei manum agnoscens religiosus quis esset indicavit et habitum in arca absconditum religiosum monstravit: quare si vellent salvi et incolumes evadere, Ionaë instar illum vindici iræ numinis et irato mari victimam in aquas demergerent. Recusarunt Indi nec ullo modo ad tantum facinus induci potuerunt, donec aliquot post diebus et ipsi rem supra naturae ordinem agnoscentes etiam nolentem tunc in aquas demerserunt: et dicto citius iratum posuit mare; et insequenti die (a triduo iam victus defecerat) ipsum Panamaë portum, ignorantes quo pergerent, intrasse iam se compererunt.<sup>57</sup>

modo *correx*i: medo *cod. apogr.*

quaelibet *correx*i: qualibet *cod. apogr.*

Leuven

Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae

<sup>55</sup> Trujillo.

<sup>56</sup> Paita.

<sup>57</sup> Après la mise-en-page de cet article, nous avons retrouvé à Rome (ARSI, F.G. 752, num. 165) une lettre de De Coninck au P. Général (23 mars 1646); elle sera publiée dans le numéro 91 de la revue *Melissa* (Bruxelles).

Zana Aziza ETAMBALA

L'ENSEIGNEMENT DU LATIN DANS LE VICARIAT  
APOSTOLIQUE DU HAUT-CONGO: AVEC LA PRÉSENTATION  
ET L'ANALYSE DE QUATRE LETTRES LATINES, 1905-1906

**Introduction**

Le hasard nous a fait recueillir dans les archives et dans les revues de la Société des Pères Blancs d'Afrique, quatre lettres composées en latin par de jeunes séminaristes congolais. Elles datent des années 1905 et 1906. Tout porte à croire que la rédaction de ces documents s'inscrivait dans le cadre d'exercices littéraires accompagnant les cours de latin. Elle fut très probablement imposée par les professeurs du petit séminaire géré alors par les Pères Blancs sur la rive congolaise du lac Tanganika.

A vrai dire, ces missives nous fascinent parce qu'elles sont vraisemblablement les plus anciens écrits en langue latine, produits par des sujets de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo (1885-1908), qui ont été dépouillés jusqu'à présent.<sup>1</sup>

L'apprentissage du latin s'est initialement intégré dans la formation religieuse du clergé local. Cette langue classique s'apprit alors exclusivement dans les petit et grand séminaires. La connaissance du latin fut par conséquent liée à la présence de missionnaires européens.

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous avons plus particulièrement l'intention de regarder à la loupe le programme latin que les premiers séminaristes congolais ont dû exécuter à partir de la fin du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Cela signifie plus concrètement que nous nous intéresserons aux auteurs classiques qu'ils ont étudiés. Evidemment, nous présenterons et analyserons aussi les quatre lettres latines que nous avons exhumées. Mais avant

<sup>1</sup> Dans le présent article, le nom de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo, dont la souveraineté fut confiée au Roi Léopold II en 1885, s'orthographie avec C. Les sujets de ce pays sont désignés comme des Congolais. En revanche, l'orthographe correcte du nom du Royaume qui fut découvert au coeur de l'Afrique à la fin du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle est: le Royaume Kongo. Les habitants de ce Royaume sont des Bakongo (Mukongo, au singulier).

de proposer les résultats de nos recherches, nous essaierons de nous faire une idée globale de la latinité moderne en Afrique Noire.

## 1. Aux origines de la latinité africaine

L'Afrique Noire a produit ses premiers latinistes à partir du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ces hommes étaient des esclaves libérés qui parfois se sont frayé avec un grand succès un chemin dans les universités occidentales les plus prestigieuses. C'est là une page quasi inconnue de l'histoire du continent noir. Nous pouvons donc affirmer que quand l'Afrique sombra dans l'anarchie et souffrit d'une hémorragie horrible due au trafic immonde d'esclaves, elle fournit au même moment quelques savants et poètes pouvant alors rivaliser en compétence avec leurs contemporains européens. Ces figures exceptionnelles reçurent toutes leur éducation dans la diaspora.

L'Africain incontestablement le plus renommé de l'Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle fut Johannes Latinus. Né vers 1516, il fut acheté comme esclave, quelque part en Afrique du Nord, à l'âge de douze ans, par Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova y Aguilar (1443-1515). Ce général très populaire, qui fut au service du roi d'Aragon, fit ses premières armes contre les Maures et acquit le surnom d'*El Gran Capitan* (le Grand Capitaine).<sup>2</sup> Le jeune page noir vécut d'abord à Baena, une localité située à mi-chemin entre Cordoue et Grenade. Plus tard, Johannes dut suivre ses maîtres de Baena à la ville de Grenade. Il y étudia d'abord à l'Ecole de la Cathédrale et puis à l'Université. Bachelier en 1546 et licencié en 1556, il se prépara au doctorat dès 1557. Ses résultats étaient si brillants qu'en 1565 l'Université de Grenade lui offrit une chaire qu'il ne déclina pas. Sa leçon inaugurale eut lieu le 18 octobre de cette année-là.<sup>3</sup> La liste de ses publications latines est considérable. Il publia des vers

<sup>2</sup> C'était l'époque de la croisade africaine de l'Espagne qui visait, d'une part, l'élimination des pirates ayant la ville d'Oran comme principale repaire et, d'autre part, l'intimidation des Trucs. Simultanément, la couronne espagnole s'était mis en tête d'étendre ses influences sur l'Italie où Gonsalvo Hernandez fut nommé vice-roi avec résidence à Naples. Mais El Gran Capitan fut disgracié à la fin de sa vie. Cf. Robert Lemm, *Geschiedenis van Spanje* (Amsterdam-Anvers, 1997), pp. 93-96.

<sup>3</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I. History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*. Second entirely rewritten edition, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 5 (Louvain, 1990), pp. 311-314; Albert S. Gérard, 'Modern African Writing in Latin', dans *European-Language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa. A Comparative History*

funèbres (en 1566); des poésies élogieuses pour le roi d'Espagne Philippe II, *Ad catholicum et invictissimum Philippum, Dei gratia Hispaniarum regem*; pour la naissance de Fernand, le fils de Philippe II, *De faelicissima serenissimi Fernandi principis nativitate*; pour le Pape Pie V; des vers épiques pour don Juan d'Autriche, fils naturel de Charles-Quint, qui remporta contre les Turcs la victoire de Lépante le 17 octobre 1571, *Victoria adversus perfidos Turcos*; etc. Il n'est donc pas du tout étonnant que les Aragonais ou Espagnols aient attribué à cet enfant prodige le surnom de *Latinus*. Johannes Latinus épousa en 1550 Dona Ana de Carvajal dont il avait été l'instituteur particulier de latin et de guitare. *El maestro Juan Latino* lui avait dédié des chants lyriques latins sous forme de livres de textes. Latinus, qui mourut entre 1594 et 1597, eut quatre enfants avec Dona Ana.

Un deuxième personnage africain qui marqua son temps par son érudition s'appelait Amo. Il naquit peu avant 1700 près d'Axim, une ville qui actuellement fait partie du Ghana. Un de ses frères fut emporté aux Antilles Néerlandaises comme esclave. Lui-même eut la chance de bénéficier de la protection d'un pasteur de l'Eglise Réformée Néerlandaise qui caressait l'espoir de pouvoir l'envoyer aux Pays-Bas où il pourrait jouir d'un soutien pécuniaire de la *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*. Mais le sort qui l'attendait, fut plutôt allemand.<sup>4</sup> En effet, Amo devint le protégé d'Anton Ulrich de Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1633-1714), un duc allemand qui passa solennellement du protestantisme au catholicisme à Bamberg en 1710. En 1707, Amo arriva en Allemagne où il fut baptisé le 29 juin. Il reçut les prénoms chrétiens Anton Wilhelm. Résidant, dans un premier temps, à Wolfenbüttel, il y fit des études jusque vers 1721. Puis, il partit à l'Université de Helmstedt. Il fut ensuite inscrit, le 9 juillet 1727, à la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Halle en Prusse où il fut un étudiant du mathématicien-philosophe Christian Wolff (1679-1754) qui fut lui-même un disciple de

of *Literatures in European Languages*, ed. Albert S. Gérard, vol. VI (Budapest, 1986), pp. 49-56 and 'Juan Latino', dans Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige. Africans in Europe. A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*, Basler Afrika Bibliographien (Basel, 1979), pp. 39-40.

<sup>4</sup> 'Amo', dans Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige*, pp. 107-108. Burchard Brentjes, *Antonius Guilelmus Ame Afer aus Axim in Ghana. Student, Doktor der Philosophie, Magister legens an den Universitäten Halle, Wittenberg und Jena, 1727-1747. Dokumente, Autographen, Belege. Ausgewählt und zusammengestellt im Auftrag der Philosophischen Fakultät der Martin-Luther Universität (Halle, 1968)*; Id., *Anton Wilhelm Amo. Der schwarze Philosoph in Halle* (Leipzig, 1976).

Gottfried Leibniz. En novembre 1729, il y tint une discussion publique *De iure Maurorum in Europa*.

En 1730, le jeune intellectuel africain passa à l'Université de Wittenberg où il défendit sa *dissertatio inauguralis*, intitulée *De humanae mentis apatheia* et publiée en 1734, l'année durant laquelle on lui conféra le grade de docteur en philosophie. En 1737 sortit de la presse son *Tractatus de arte sobrie et accurate philosophandi*. Anton Wilhelm Amo, qui savait s'exprimer convenablement en néerlandais, en français et en allemand et qui en outre maîtrisait le latin, l'hébreu et le grec, fut engagé à partir de 1736 comme lecteur consécutivement à l'Université de Halle et à l'Université de Iéna. Frédéric II (1712-1786) — le roi philosophe, le souverain ou le despote éclairé — rendit hommage à ce savant africain en le nommant non pas bouffon de cour mais conseiller à la cour. Anton Amo rentra — c'était après 1743 — en Afrique où il tomba dans l'anonymat.

Le troisième latiniste renommé d'origine africaine, un contemporain d'Anton Wilhem Amo, s'appelait Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein. Son passé était identique à celui des figures précitées: il fut d'abord vendu comme esclave à l'âge de sept ou huit ans au négrier hollandais, le capitaine Arnoldus Steenhardt, à un endroit nommé *Rivo Sancti Andreae* (= *Rivo de Santo Andrea*, en portugais; l'actuel fleuve Sassandra en Côte d'Ivoire).<sup>5</sup> Arnoldus Steenhardt céda plus tard son compagnon noir à son compatriote Jacobus van Goch, agent commercial de la *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, qui lors de son retour définitif en Europe, se fit accompagner par le jeune Capitein. Ils arrivèrent à Middelbourg le 25 juillet 1728 d'où, sans tarder, ils poursuivirent leur chemin vers La Haye (*Haga Comitum*).

C'est dans cette ville que le jeune Noir apprit le néerlandais. Il y fréquenta d'abord la *Schola Catechetica* de l'Eglise calviniste et puis la *Schola Publica*, i. e. le gymnase, où il apprit le latin. Entretemps, il suivit des leçons particulières pour rattraper son retard en matière d'instruction.

<sup>5</sup> François Bontinck, 'Le prédicant africain Jacobus Capitein (1717-1747)', *Revue Africaine de Théologie*, n° 4 (Kinshasa, octobre 1978), 219-243; Albert Eekhof, 'De negerpredikant Jacobus Elisa Joannes Capitein. Bijdrage tot de kennis van onze koloniale Kerkgeschiedenis', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 13 (1917), 138-174 et 209-276 (sous forme d'un livre: 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1917); Olivier de Bouveignes, 'La Traite des esclaves sur la Côte occidentale de l'Afrique au XVIIIème (sic: XVIIIème) siècle', *Brousse*, 2 (1952), 26-38; F. L. Bartels, 'Jacobus Eliza Capitein, 1717-1747', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 4 (1959), 3-13; 'J. E. J. Capitein', dans Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige*, pp. 80-81.

C'est à partir de 1731 qu'il commença à suivre des leçons spéciales de grec, d'hébreu et de chaldéen. Il reçut le baptême de l'Eglise Réformée le 8 juillet 1735. Jacobus Capitein termina ses études le 22 juin 1737 par une allocution latine dont le titre était *De vocatione Ethnicorum*. Il fut alors inscrit à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Leiden en tant que boursier extraordinaire. Le 1er juillet 1739, il prononça un discours latin et le 10 mars 1742 il acheva ses études par une *disputatio publica* sur *De servitute libertati christianae non contraria*. La même année parut à Leiden sa thèse intitulée *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute, libertati christianae non contraria* ("Dissertation politico-théologique sur l'esclavage, comme non contraire à la liberté chrétienne"). Une traduction néerlandaise suivit peu de temps après à Leiden et à Amsterdam. Il déménagea ensuite à Amsterdam où il passa des examens. Il réussit sans aucun problème et on lui conféra le titre de prédicant. Le docte ancien esclave fit aussi de la poésie. Ainsi, avant de quitter les Pays-Bas, il composa une élégie latine pour son ami Brandyn Ryser qui avait fait graver son portrait par F. van Bleiswijck. Il rédigea également une poésie latine de 36 vers en guise d'adieu. Jacobus Capitein retourna alors dans la région du Golfe de Guinée où il débarqua le 8 octobre 1742. Son désir d'épouser une fille africaine se heurta à un refus catégorique de la part des responsables amsteldammois de son Eglise. Finalement, il contracta un mariage avec une jeune fille hollandaise originaire de La Haye, Antonia Ginderdros, qui, dans ce but, avait été discrètement contactée par le Conseil des Dix et envoyée pour cette raison à La Mina.<sup>6</sup> Son travail pastoral ne fut pas couronné d'un succès éclatant. Il eut toutefois le mérite d'avoir traduit les Dix Commandements, le Credo et plusieurs prières en tshi, la langue locale. Ne pouvant vivre des contributions de sa petite communauté religieuse, il s'aventura dans des affaires commerciales. Ses talents étant apparemment très limités dans ce domaine, son commerce déperit et il mourut, surendetté, le 1er février 1747.

Il convient de préciser que l'historiographie africaine n'a qu'une connaissance assez fragmentaire de ces trois figures remarquables. Leurs biographies manquent dans les douze tomes que les *Editions Jeune*

<sup>6</sup> L'ensemble de la région du Golfe de Guinée, dont l'ensemble était appelé La Mina, avait São Jorge da Mina (Saint-Georges de la Mine) pour centre. Les Portugais y avaient construit un fort en 1481. Ces contrées, réputées à cette époque pour leurs mines d'or, appartiennent actuellement au Ghana. Jadis, ce pays fut appelé Gold Coast ou la Côte-d'Or. Cf. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire de l'Afrique Noire, d'hier à demain* (Paris, 1978), p. 207.

*Afrique* consacra, en 1977 et 1978, aux hommes et femmes historiques africains les plus méritoires.<sup>7</sup> Il y a également lieu de noter qu'en règle générale les historiens et les néo-latinistes ignorent mutuellement les investigations que les uns et les autres ont faites sur ces intellectuels africains. Bien qu'utilisant les mêmes sources et documents, Hans Werner Debrunner et François Bontinck ne font aucune référence aux publications de Jozef IJsewijn ou Albert S. Gérard et vice versa.

## 2. L'enseignement du latin en Afrique Noire, XVI<sup>ème</sup> s. — 1885

Pendant des siècles, l'Eglise Catholique fut, sans conteste, le plus grand vecteur de la culture latine. En ouvrant des champs d'apostolat en Afrique subsaharienne, elle y transféra évidemment une partie de son héritage culturel. Nul n'ignore que l'Afrique Centrale a connu deux tentatives d'évangélisation dont la première fut entreprise au terme du XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle. On comprend dès lors que l'on doit localiser les premiers documents rédigés en latin par des gens originaires de cette partie du globe au début du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Mais le christianisme ne prit définitivement racine en Afrique tropicale que vers la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

### 2.1 *La première tentative d'évangélisation: XVI<sup>ème</sup> s. — ca 1835*

Les trois personnalités africaines susmentionnées étaient à tout point de vue des merles blancs. D'autres Africains ont eux aussi joui d'une éducation plus au moins classique et maîtrisaient la langue latine. Il s'agit de gens qui ont reçu une formation ecclésiastique dans des couvents ou des séminaires. Certains de ces Noirs ont conquis une place importante dans les ouvrages traitant de l'histoire de la première tentative de pénétration de l'Eglise catholique au centre africain. Malheureusement, presque rien de leurs textes n'a été conservé.

La première caravane de missionnaires européens, composée de Chanoines de Saint-Eloi de l'ordre de Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste, s'embarqua pour l'embouchure du fleuve Kongo le 19 décembre 1490. Ces religieux n'avaient rien omis de tout ce qui était nécessaire pour construire et meubler des églises et des écoles.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Les Africains*, Editions Jeune Afrique, 12 vols (Paris, 1977-1978).

<sup>8</sup> Willy Bal, *Le Royaume du Congo aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Documents historiques* (Léopoldville-Bruxelles, 1963); Olivier de Bouveignes, *Les anciens Rois de Congo*

Le 29 mars 1491, après une centaine de jours de navigation pénibles, deux des trois caravelles atteignirent le port de Soyo. La christianisation de ces territoires africains prit un départ fulgurant. A Pâques, les ecclésiastiques portugais parvinrent à baptiser le chef de la région de Soyo et son fils. Ils se mirent ensuite en route vers *Kongo dia Ntotila* ou *Mbanza Kongo*, la capitale du royaume du Kongo, où ils conférèrent le baptême au *Mani Kongo* (ou *Ne Kongo*), le roi Nzinga a Nkuwa (?-ca 1506), le 3 mai 1491. Celui-ci choisit le nom chrétien de João Ier parce que le roi du Portugal s'appelait ainsi.<sup>9</sup> Mais João Ier apostasia et revint aux traditions de ses ancêtres, ce qui freina l'expansion du christianisme dans ces parages. Mais on continua à envoyer des missionnaires depuis le Portugal. En 1504, le roi portugais, Manoel Ier, équipa une expédition missionnaire, composée de plusieurs savants et théologiens, qu'il envoya au Kongo. Son objectif était d'y fonder un séminaire. Cependant, devant les faibles dispositions de João Ier, ces religieux décidèrent de prendre le chemin de retour.<sup>10</sup>

Mvemba Nzinga (ca 1455/1460-ca 1541) succéda à João Ier en 1506. Il prit le nom d'Afonso Ier à l'occasion de son baptême. Le nouveau roi était favorable à l'évangélisation de son pays et ne tarda pas à solliciter l'envoi de nouveau personnel missionnaire. En 1508, treize Chanoines de Saint-Eloi partirent pour le royaume du Kongo. Ils envisageaient l'ouverture d'une école où l'enseignement serait donné à quelque quatre cents fils de chefs. Mais tout resta au stade de projet.

Nous ne pouvons pas passer sous silence Dom Henrique (ca 1495-ca 1531), fils d'Afonso Ier, dont le nom africain était Ndodidiki Ne-Kinu a Mubemba. Dom Henrique apprit tout d'abord à lire et à écrire le portugais. Deux prêtres portugais dispensaient ces leçons à la cour royale. Puis, le jeune prince fut envoyé à Lisbonne, en compagnie de son cousin

(Namur, 1948); René Beekmans, 'La Première Évangélisation au Zaïre (1482-1835)', dans *L'Eglise Catholique au Zaïre, un siècle de croissance (1880-1980)*, Edition du Secrétariat Général de l'Episcopat (Kinshasa, 1981), pp. 15-42; François Bontinck, 'La première évangélisation du Zaïre', *Telema*, n° 21, Kinshasa, janvier-mars 1980/1, pp. 25-37; Raphaël Batsikama Ba Mampuya Ma Ndâwala, *L'Ancien Royaume du Congo et les Bakongo (Ndona Béatrice & voici les Jagas)* (Paris-Montréal: L'Armattan, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> João ou Jean II (1455-1495), treizième roi du Portugal, surnommé le Prince Parfait, succéda à son père le 31 août 1481. Soyo était une des provinces côtières du Royaume du Kongo et s'étendait du fleuve Ambrize jusqu'à sept degrés et demi en direction du nord, au travers des fleuves Lelunda et Kongo.

<sup>10</sup> Manoel ou Emmanuel (1469-1521), succéda à son cousin germain et beau-frère le roi Jean II le 27 octobre 1495. Il s'attacha avec beaucoup d'énergie à établir des relations diplomatiques avec des contrées éloignées, telles que le Kongo et l'Ethiopie.



Dom Rodrigo de Santa Maria, afin d'y compléter ses études.<sup>11</sup> Des moyens classiques furent utilisés pour parfaire sa formation religieuse: on le fit participer à la liturgie et aux fêtes chrétiennes; on le fit également assister à des sermons; on le stimula à lire la Bible, des Pères de l'Eglise et des ouvrages de dévotion. Dom Henrique apprit bien évidemment à s'exprimer en latin et à écrire cette langue. Peut-être qu'il suivit aussi, à l'instar d'autres garçons de son âge, les cours du *trivium* ou du *quadrivium*.

Le curriculum vitae de Dom Henrique a été reconstitué par plusieurs historiens africanistes qui tous regrettent de ne pas avoir retrouvé jusqu'à présent le moindre écrit latin de sa main. La destruction des archives royales de Mbanza Kongo, le ravage de la ville de Lisbonne par un tremblement de terre en 1755 et la perte d'une foule d'archives qui en fut une des conséquences tragiques, ainsi que des disparitions dans les archives vaticanes expliquent cette lacune.<sup>12</sup>

Toutefois, une lettre d'obédience du père de Dom Henrique, le roi Afonso Ier, rédigée bien évidemment en latin en 1512 et adressée au Souverain Pontife Jules II a été retrouvée. Elle s'inscrivait dans le projet d'Afonso I er d'envoyer une ambassade à Rome. Une délégation, dont firent partie quelques Noirs, partit d'abord à Lisbonne, où elle arriva vers la mi-septembre 1513. Le roi portugais organisa alors une ambassade portugaise à laquelle se joignit le prince Henrique, encore étudiant à Lisbonne, pour l'envoyer à Rome où Léon X venait d'être élu Pape. Le jeune prince y aurait fait un discours en latin devant le Saint-Père.<sup>13</sup>

Le fils d'Afonso I er fut ordonné prêtre à la fin de 1520. Il fut sacré évêque d'Utique et auxiliaire de l'évêque de Funchal probablement au

<sup>11</sup> François Bontinck, 'Ndodidiki Ne-Kinu a Mubemba, premier évêque Kongo (c.1495-c.1531)', *Revue Africaine de Théologie*, 3 (1979), 149-169; Teobaldo Filesi, 'Enrico, figlio del re del Congo, primo vescovo dell'Africa nera (1518)', *Euntes Docete*, 29 (1966), 365-385; Charles-Martial de Witte, 'Henri de Congo, évêque titulaire d'Utique († c. 1531)', *Euntes Docete*, 31 (1968), 587-599; Jean Cuvelier, *L'ancien royaume de Congo* (Bruges-Paris, 1946), pp. 315-322 ('l'évêque noir').

<sup>12</sup> Jean Cuvelier — Louis Jadin, *L'ancien Congo d'après les archives romaines (1518-1640)*, Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 36/2 (Bruxelles, 1954); Louis Jadin, 'Les missions du Congo à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', dans *Actas de Congresso Internacional de Historia dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbonne, 1961); Id., 'L'Afrique et Rome depuis l'époque des découvertes jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', dans *XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Rapports II — Histoire des continents* (Louvain, 1965).

<sup>13</sup> François Bontinck, 'La première "ambassade" congolaise à Rome (1514)', *Etudes d'Histoire Africaine*, 1 (1970), 37-73.

début de 1521. Ainsi, il devint le premier haut dignitaire ecclésiastique noir des temps modernes. Il quitta le Portugal au cours de l'année 1521.

Notons aussi qu'à la fin du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, le roi Alvare II, qui a régné de 1587 à 1614, envoya à Rome une autre ambassade devenue célèbre. Antonio Emmanuel, Marquis de Vunda (ou Antoine Manuel Ne Vunda) mieux connu sous le nom d'Antonius Nigrita –, arriva exténué et moribond dans la Cité Sainte après un périple qui avait duré plusieurs années. Son arrivée fut annoncée le 2 janvier 1608 dans *Avvisi*, un journal paraissant à Rome. On ajoutait que l'on l'attendait à Civitavecchia et que le Pape Paul V avait fait préparer pour lui l'appartement du Cardinal Robert Bellarmin (1542-1621), archevêque de Capone qui revint à Rome en 1605, dans le palais même du Vatican. Il souhaitait le traiter lui-même, le défrayer de toutes ses dépenses et le recevoir en consistoire public dans la Salle Royale.

Une des fresques des salles de la Bibliothèque Vaticane rappelle cet événement. Elle représente la visite du Souverain Pontife, Paul V, à l'ambassadeur du Kongo. Le tableau est accompagné de l'inscription latine suivante:

Paulus V Pont. Max. Antonium Emmanuelem Alvari regis Congi legatum ex longo et difficili itinere aegrotantem in Vaticano excepit paucisque post diebus morti proximum invisit an. MDCIIX pontific. IV.

(Paul V, Pape, reçut au Vatican Antoine Emmanuel, envoyé du roi de Congo, Alvare, malade après un long et difficile voyage, et le visita quelques jours plus tard alors qu'il était moribond. L'an 1608, le IV<sup>ème</sup> de son pontificat.)<sup>14</sup>

Le Pape lui fit faire des funérailles solennelles dans la Basilique de Sainte-Marie Majeure, où un monument lui fut élevé. On ignore à quel endroit précis cet édifice se trouvait initialement. Mais un nouveau mausolée fut définitivement placé en 1629 par le Pape Urbain VIII. Ci-après la nouvelle inscription qui fut gravée sur une plaque de marbre:

Marchioni Antonio Nigritae / Regio Congi oratori / Quem Paulus V, nondum peracta legatione, / In Vaticano mortuum / In Exquiliis funeravit / Urbanus VIII / Qui primus Romanorum Pontificum / A Regibus Congi / Per oratorem Joannem Baptistam Vives / Solemne christianae obedientiae / Juramentum excepit / Sepulchrum extruxit / Pontificiae charitatis monumentum / An. Dom. MDCXXIX, Pont. VI.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Olivier de Bouveignes, *Les anciens Rois de Congo*, p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> François Bontinck, 'Le monument funèbre d'"Antonius Nigrita" à Rome', *Revue du Clergé Africain*, 6 (1951), 125-126.

(Au Marquis Antonius Nigrita, porte-parole royal du Kongo, que Paul V a enterré après qu'il n'avait pas encore rempli sa mission diplomatique et après qu'il soit mort au Vatican. Urbain VIII, qui comme premier des évêques romains avait reçu de la part des rois du Kongo le serment solennel d'obédience chrétienne par l'intervention du porte-parole Jean-Baptiste Vives, a construit la tombe comme monument commémoratif de la charité papale en l'an du Seigneur 1629, la sixième année de son pontificat.)

Une pièce de monnaie commémorative fut battue à cette occasion avec l'effigie d'Antoine Manuel s'agenouillant devant Paul V. Elle porte l'inscription suivante:

Et Congum cognovit Pastorem suum. A. MDCVIII.<sup>16</sup>

(Et Congo reconnut son Pasteur. L'an 1608.)

Et un poète belge, Justus Ryckius ou Rycquius (nom de famille latinisé: De Rycke, 1587-1627), un natif de Gand séjournant à Rome du temps de Paul V, adressa au Pontife un poème latin où il fit allusion à cette délégation royale:

Vidimus extremis properantes finibus Affros,  
Hinc ubi longoevus pondere nutat Atlas.<sup>17</sup>

(Nous avons vu des Africains accourant de leurs lointaines frontières, de là, où le vieil Atlas courbe la tête sous le fardeau du ciel).

Mis au courant de la mort de son ambassadeur, Alvare II exprimant alors le désir de ne pas laisser tomber le projet d'ambassade et d'avoir à Rome un chargé d'affaires, le pape Paul V nomma Jean-Baptiste Vivès (1545-1632), un prélat espagnol résidant à Rome, ambassadeur du roi du Kongo. Celui-ci devait être en relations permanentes avec le royaume du Kongo.<sup>18</sup>

Dans ce royaume la religion catholique s'éteignit quasi complètement au début du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. A l'origine de cette extinction fut, premièrement, le fait que les autochtones ne connaissaient du christianisme, après quelques siècles, que le seul baptême. Ils croyaient que ce sacrement suffisait à leur assurer le salut éternel. Pour le reste, ils ne vivaient point conformément aux préceptes de la morale

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 550.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 550.

<sup>18</sup> Jean Cuvelier, 'Vivès Jean-Baptiste', dans *Biographie Coloniale Belge* (Bruxelles, 1951), vol. 2, col. 961; François Bontinck, 'Jean-Baptiste Vivès, Ambassadeur des Rois de Congo auprès du Saint-Siège', *Revue du Clergé Africain*, 7 (1952), 258-264.

chrétienne et continuaient à se livrer à la polygamie, l'esclavage et à l'anthropophagie. Et puis, tous les villages possédaient toujours leurs féticheurs et sorciers.

Deuxièmement, les quelques rares ecclésiastiques oeuvrant au Kongo excellaient par une immoralité scandaleuse et une incompétence incontestable.<sup>19</sup> Troisièmement, les missionnaires avaient négligé d'investir sérieusement dans la formation d'un clergé local.<sup>20</sup> Mais le coup de grâce fut donné par le gouvernement portugais qui supprima par un décret du 28 mai 1834, tant dans la métropole que dans les possessions lusitaniennes ultramarines, quasi tous les monastères religieux. Quelques 401 maisons religieuses, y compris des collèges, des hospices et aussi 12 couvents de femmes, disséminés à travers le pays et les provinces d'outre-mer et contenant plus de 6.500 personnes, furent touchées par cette mesure. Au royaume du Kongo, le couvent des Capucins fut alors confisqué et transformé en orphelinat et le dernier missionnaire de cet ordre mit la clé sous le paillason et partit pour l'Europe le 7 mai 1835.<sup>21</sup>

A ce moment, ce royaume s'était depuis longtemps complètement décomposé. L'intervention portugaise a été déterminante dans cette évolution. Il n'y a cependant jamais été question d'annexion ni de substitution directe du roi du Portugal à celle du Mani Kongo. Mais les intrigues insolentes lusitaniennes dans la politique interne du Kongo et le rôle prépondérant que les Portugais ont joué dans l'extension de l'exportation d'esclaves par la voie maritime avaient conduit le royaume du Kongo à la ruine.

## 2.2 La deuxième tentative d'évangélisation, à partir de 1880

Les Eglises Occidentales, tant catholique que protestante, se sont définitivement implantées au centre de l'Afrique à partir du dernier quart du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elles doivent cette réussite à l'attention qu'elles ont prêtée à la formation de prêtres et de pasteurs autochtones.

<sup>19</sup> Voir le rapport publié par E. De Jonghe — Th. Simar, *Archives Congolaises*, fasc. 1 (Bruxelles, 1919), pp. 18-20.

<sup>20</sup> Louis Jadin, 'Le clergé séculier et les Capucins du Congo et d'Angola aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Conflits de juridiction, 1700-1726', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 36 (1964), 185-483.

<sup>21</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Histoire du Portugal et de son empire colonial* (Paris, 1998), pp. 360-361.

Du côté catholique, la question du clergé indigène fut très lentement mise à l'ordre du jour. Jugeant les jeunes Noirs intellectuellement et moralement inaptes à entamer des études supérieures, certaines congrégations missionnaires étaient convaincues qu'il ne fallait point se précipiter. Il importait à leur avis d'être prudent et d'attendre encore des décennies, voire un siècle, avant de préparer des jeunes Africains à la prêtrise. Néanmoins, l'opinion d'autres sociétés missionnaires catholiques était beaucoup plus nuancée. Des membres de deux sociétés d'origine française étaient intimement persuadés qu'on devait prendre en considération la vocation sacerdotale des jeunes Noirs. Ces deux congrégations, qui ouvrirent presque simultanément un champ d'apostolat au centre de l'Afrique, prirent alors l'initiative de former, après seulement quelques années, un clergé autochtone.

Il y eut tout d'abord la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, fondée en 1848. En 1864, les Spiritains, qui travaillaient déjà sur les côtes occidentales de l'Afrique, firent à Rome les premières démarches en vue d'obtenir la mission du Kongo. Leur demande fut accueillie favorablement et le décret *Saeculo XV Labente*, promulgué à Rome le 9 septembre 1865, leur confia l'apostolat des missions susdites.

Les premières fondations de cette Congrégation se situaient dans les territoires placés ultérieurement sous influences politiques française et portugaise. Dans la partie que Léopold II et les Belges conquirèrent, les Spiritains fondèrent successivement: la mission de Notre-Dame des Victoires à Boma le 12 mai 1880; la mission du Saint-Esprit à Nemlao le 2 février 1886; la mission de Saint-Paul du Kasai à Kwamouth le 18 mai 1886.<sup>22</sup>

Les Spiritains n'ont tardé à former des prêtres locaux. Déjà en 1892, deux abbés, Charles Maonde et Louis de Gourlet, le fils d'un Français, reçurent l'onction sacerdotale. Maonde, pour ainsi dire un Noir de pur sang, était originaire de la rive gauche du fleuve Congo et était arrivé à Landana en tant que jeune esclave racheté. Il y fut baptisé et prit, en souvenir du père Charles Duparquet (1832-1888), le pionnier du clergé africain et le fondateur des premiers séminaires érigés par les Spiritains, son nom chrétien de Charles.<sup>23</sup> Le jeune Maonde entra au petit séminaire de

<sup>22</sup> Auguste Roeykens, 'Les Pères du Saint-Esprit et l'acceptation de la mission du Congo au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle', *Aequatoria*, XIII<sup>ème</sup> année (Coquilhatville, 1950), n° 2, pp. 67-72; suite, 1950, n° 3, pp. 93-100; suite et fin, XIV<sup>ème</sup> année, 1951, n° 2, pp. 41-47. J. I. Nkulu Butombe, 'L'arrivée des premiers missionnaires du St-Esprit au Zaïre', dans *L'Eglise Catholique au Zaïre*, pp. 61-71.

<sup>23</sup> Jean Ernault, *Les Spiritains au Congo de 1865 à nos jours, matériaux pour une histoire de l'Eglise au Congo*, Mémoire Spiritaine, Etudes et Documents, 3 (Paris, 1995), p. 117.

Landana, dirigé alors par le père Hippolyte Carrie (1842-1904), en 1881. Il décéda à l'hôpital Saint-Joseph à Paris, le 20 juin 1907.

Le 2 avril 1917, deux autres Noirs furent ordonnés dans le Vicariat Apostolique confié aux Spiritains: les abbés Henri Kibassa et Stanilas Kala. Ainsi, huit ordinations sacerdotales avaient déjà eu lieu à la veille de l'ordination du premier prêtre congolais, l'abbé Stephano Kaoze (le 21 juillet 1917) et des deux premiers prêtres rwandais, Balthazar Gafuku et Donat Reberaho (le 7 octobre 1917).

Les Pères Blancs, qui se rendirent dans la partie-est du futur Etat Indépendant du Congo, s'installèrent consécutivement à Mulweba (ou Massanze) le 28 novembre 1880, à Kibanga Sacré-Coeur (puis Saint-Michel et ensuite Lavigerieville à la mort du Cardinal Charles Lavigerie en 1892) le 11 juin 1883, à Mkapakwe le 12 septembre 1884 (cette mission fut transférée à Mpala Notre-Dame, le 8 juillet 1885), et à Saint-Louis de Mrumbi du 16 mars au 18 décembre 1892. Toutes ces stations missionnaires susmentionnées furent supprimées ou transférées. La mission de Baudouinville Saint-Joseph ne fut aménagée qu'à partir du 8 mai 1893 et existe jusqu'à présent.<sup>24</sup>

Sur les insistance de Léopold II, Rome décida de confier l'évangélisation de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo à des congrégations d'origine belge. Par le décret du 28 mai 1886, la Propagande créa le Vicariat Apostolique du Congo français selon la ligne de démarcation entre le territoire français et l'Etat Libre du Congo. Les Spiritains et les Pères Blancs devaient en conséquence quitter leurs missions du Congo léopoldien.<sup>25</sup>

Les Spiritains restèrent encore quelques années au Bas-Congo avant de remettre leurs postes aux missionnaires de la Congrégation belge de Scheut. Les Pères Blancs évacuèrent leur mission de Kwamouth et se retirèrent temporairement dans leurs missions établies au-delà des Stanley-Falls, près du lac Tanganika. Par dérogation à la mesure susmentionnée d'abandon, une décision pontificale du 30 décembre 1886 reconstitua à l'extrémité orientale de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo le

<sup>24</sup> Roger Heremans, *Les établissements de l'Association Internationale Africaine au Lac Tanganika et les Pères Blancs (Mpala et Karéma, 1877-1885)*, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, n° 3 (Tervuren, 1966). Id., *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères Blancs en Afrique Centrale (1879-1914), objectifs et réalisations*, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, Vlième série, fascicule 26 (Louvain-la-Neuve — Bruxelles, 1983).

<sup>25</sup> Léon Bethune, *Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique* (Lille, 1889), pp. 277-306.

Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo ou plus exactement le Vicariat Apostolique du Tanganika Occidental. Le cardinal Lavigerie (1825-1892), le fondateur de cette société, avait entretemps promis au Souverain belge d'y envoyer exclusivement des missionnaires de nationalité belge. C'est dans cette juridiction ecclésiastique que virent le jour les premiers latinistes congolais.

### **3. L'enseignement du latin dans le Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo (1885-1908)**

Nous n'avons nullement l'intention de brosser ci-après l'histoire de l'enseignement au Congo. Toutefois, force nous est de remarquer que ce n'est qu'après la seconde guerre mondiale (1940-1945) que les premières humanités classiques firent leur apparition en Afrique Centrale. Avant cette période, le latin ne fut enseigné que dans les petit et grand séminaires.

#### *3.1 Les problèmes de la langue d'instruction, de l'impression des livres scolaires et du choix des auteurs*

En Afrique Centrale, les premiers professeurs de latin durent surmonter plusieurs obstacles à la fois. En premier lieu, il fallait trouver une réponse à la question relative à la langue d'instruction. A ce sujet, on constate que le français ne fut mis au programme scolaire que dans le grand séminaire. Donc, dans le petit séminaire, les leçons de latin furent très longtemps entièrement données en langue locale.

Dans l'est du Congo, les Pères Blancs préféraient le swahili au français. Les autorités coloniales belges ont dû insister pour qu'ils consentissent à introduire des cours de français dans leurs établissements scolaires. Il nous semble erroné de prétendre que 'les sentiments nationalistes flamands' — la très grande majorité des missionnaires étant d'origine flamande — ont déterminé ce choix linguistique. Dans un rapport envoyé au ministre des Colonies Jules Renkin (1862-1934) le 13 novembre 1910, Mgr Victor Roelens (1858-1947) exposa sans ambages le pourquoi de cette préférence:

Pour nous conformer au désir, exprimé autrefois par le gouvernement de l'Etat du Congo, nous y avons fait une large place à l'enseignement de la langue française. Nous l'avons fait à contrecœur.

Car nous sommes opposé à la diffusion des langues européennes parmi les populations indigènes de la colonie. L'enseignement du français aura pour résultat de faire des déclassés. Ceux qui pourront connaître cette langue dédaigneront le travail manuel qui n'est déjà guère en honneur parmi eux. Tous voudront avoir, dans l'administration, une place facile et lucrative. Ceux qui n'en trouveront point seront des mécontents, des fauteurs de troubles, et peut-être des criminels. L'enseignement de la langue française devrait, à notre avis, être limité aux écoles spéciales, dans lesquelles on formerait des jeunes gens, spécialement choisis pour en faire des clercs, comptables et autres employés de l'administration. On devrait l'interdire dans les écoles élémentaires dans lesquelles on n'enseignerait que les langues indigènes.<sup>26</sup>

L'option de Mgr Roelens eut pour conséquence immédiate que les professeurs de latin étaient obligés de rédiger des grammaires latines en langues locales. En 1899, les classes latines venant à peine de s'ouvrir à Mpala, le père Auguste Huys (1871-1938) indiqua :

Une grammaire latine, rédigée en swahili par le Père-professeur, vient au bon moment. Mgr Roelens a mis à notre disposition une petite presse à imprimer qui nous épargne le travail désagréable, et qui mange beaucoup de notre temps, de transcription.<sup>27</sup>

Le Père J. Weghsteen fut chargé de la rédaction, à l'intention des latinistes, d'une grammaire latine en kiswahili.<sup>28</sup> Des thèmes d'imitation sur l'*Epitome*, le *De Viris*, quelques fables de Phèdre, le *De Bello Gallico* de Jules César, des extraits des Pères de l'Eglise, de Virgile, de Tite-Live et de Cicéron furent également traduits en kiswahili et imprimés sur la presse de la mission de Baudouinville.

En 1911 fut imprimée à Baudouinville une édition revue et augmentée de cette grammaire, intitulée :

Grammatica Latina (Kitabu cha Kwanza) — Lexicographia — Ex typis urbis Balduini — Apud Missionarios ab Africa — Congo, 1911."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Rapport de Mgr Roelens sur les oeuvres d'instruction indigène, adressé à monsieur le ministre Renkin, Anvers, 13 novembre 1910, dans Roger Heremans, *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères Blancs en Afrique Centrale (1879-1914), Objectifs et Réalisations*, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie (de l'Université Catholique de Louvain), 26 (Louvain-la-Neuve — Bruxelles, 1983), p. 442.

<sup>27</sup> Auguste Huys, 'Latijn in Congoland', *De Missiën der Witte Paters* (Anvers, 1900), p. 96.

<sup>28</sup> Auguste Huys, 'Latijn in Congoland', p. 96.

<sup>29</sup> Roger Heremans, *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères Blancs*, p. 392.



Ajoutons à cela que pour maîtriser le latin, considéré comme un *nec plus ultra*, les jeunes latinistes furent contraints à parler le latin à table et lors des récréations le matin, à midi et le soir. En conséquence, ils écrivirent et parlèrent la langue de Cicéron avec plus d'aisance que celle de Molière!

En second lieu, toute une polémique a éclaté concernant les auteurs classiques que l'on allait apprendre aux séminaristes. Deux tendances se distinguèrent clairement à ce propos. Certains missionnaires souhaitaient se limiter aux auteurs chrétiens, aux Pères de l'Eglise ou à la Sainte-Ecriture. Ce groupe s'appuyait sur les théories de l'abbé français Jean-Joseph Gaume (1802-1879) qui, dans son ouvrage *Le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes ou le paganisme dans l'éducation* (1852), avait condamné le recours trop exclusif aux classiques païens gréco-latins dans la formation de la jeunesse. Les idées de J. J. Gaume eurent des adeptes dans les rangs des Pères Blancs d'origine française oeuvrant surtout dans l'est de l'Afrique.

Les Pères Blancs de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo se mêlèrent beaucoup moins dans cette polémique et s'inspirèrent, en ce qui concerne l'enseignement du latin, du programme des cours tel qu'il existait dans les séminaires et collèges en Belgique. Subséquemment, Jules César, Cornélius Nepos, Tite-Live et Cicéron figuraient bel et bien sur ce programme. Ainsi, dans le rapport du quatrième semestre de 1904, Mgr Roelens nota:

Plusieurs de nos petits séminaristes, après avoir étudié différents auteurs païens et chrétiens, viennent de terminer leurs études de latin par la traduction des discours de Cicéron. Désormais tout en faisant la classe à la deuxième section de l'école des catéchistes, ils vont se livrer à l'étude de la langue française pour se préparer par là à l'étude des sciences et de la philosophie. Puissent-ils persévérer dans leurs bonnes dispositions.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.2 Le début de l'enseignement du latin au Congo

C'est le Père Auguste Huys, directeur de l'Ecole Normale fondée à Mpala en 1895 pour former des catéchistes, qui jetta les jalons du premier petit séminaire de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo. En 1898, il

<sup>30</sup> Rapport de Mgr Roelens, 'Haut-Congo année 1904', *Rapports annuels de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 117 (Alger, juin 1905), pp. 299-300; Roger Heremans, *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères Blancs*, p. 386.

demanda à Mgr Roelens conseil au sujet du désir de quelques jeunes élèves de se faire prêtre. Le Vicaire Apostolique du Haut-Congo lui conseilla d'annexer à son institut une section de petit séminaire. Tout en s'appliquant à un cours spécial de latin dans une classe appelée *Regula*, les élèves les plus doués et dévoués continueraient quand même à suivre les cours de l'Ecole Normale.<sup>31</sup>

Ce petit séminaire ouvrit officiellement ses portes le 3 janvier 1899. Les candidats, au nombre de six, furent ainsi les premiers Congolais à s'attaquer aux rudiments de la langue de Cicéron. Cinq élèves persévérèrent jusqu'à la fin de l'année, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au 20 novembre 1899. Ils avaient vu les verbes et une grande partie de la syntaxe.<sup>32</sup>

A la Toussaint de 1899, les latinistes furent déjà exhibés pendant la messe pontificale qu'ils rehaussaient par des beaux chants.<sup>33</sup> Ils ne formèrent cependant pas encore le vrai *Spes Ecclesiae Congolensis*, puisqu'aucun d'entre eux ne parvint au sacerdoce.

Un groupe de quatre nouveaux élèves vint se joindre au premier contingent de latinistes le 20 décembre 1899, à la rentrée scolaire. Deux pères furent chargés des cours aux latinistes: Auguste Huys s'occupa des plus avancés et Joseph Weghsteen (1873-1962) des nouveaux.

Mgr Roelens fit en 1911 un bilan des premières années de l'existence du petit Séminaire.<sup>34</sup> Disons qu'après une dizaine d'années de tâtonnements, le programme du petit séminaire devint plus consistant et cohérent. Les huit années se divisaient en quatre cycles. Le programme hebdomadaire comprenait: la religion, 1 heure; l'histoire sacrée 1 h; l'arithmétique, 1 h; la géographie, 1 h; la liturgie, 1 h; le swahili, 2 heures; la pédagogie, 1 h; chant et musique, 2h1/2; la gymnastique, 1 h. En plus, les élèves avaient 1h1/2 d'étude le soir et 1 heure de travail manuel le matin et 1 heure de travail manuel le soir.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Nous signalons que les Pères Blancs travaillant en Uganda ont posé les bases de leur premier petit séminaire en 1893. L'étude la plus intéressante sur la formation du clergé local dans les vicariats apostoliques desservis par les Pères Blancs en Afrique Centrale est celui de Roger Heremans, *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères Blancs*.

<sup>32</sup> Vicariat apostolique du Haut-Congo, *Chroniques de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 87 (Alger, juillet 1900), p. 407.

<sup>33</sup> 'Notre-Dame de Mpala, Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo 1899', *Chronique de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 86 (Alger, avril 1900), p. 255.

<sup>34</sup> Mgr V. Roelens, L'oeuvre des instituteurs catholiques indigènes dans le Vicariat du Haut-Congo, dans *Le Mouvement des Missions Catholiques au Congo*, 23, n° 2, (Bruxelles, juin 1911), pp. 76-77.

<sup>35</sup> A. Van den Bulcke, *Zwarte Helpers* (Bruges, 1925), pp. 80-96.

Deux heures de la journée furent consacrées à l'étude du latin. La lexicographie de la grammaire latine et la traduction de *l'Epitome*, de Lhomond, furent données pendant le premier cycle. La lexicographie fut répétée, la syntaxe, jusqu'aux *praepositiones*, et la traduction de *De Viris Illustribus*, également de Lhomond, furent données au cours du second cycle. La syntaxe fut complétée durant le troisième cycle. En même temps, on ajoutait des traductions de Cornélius Nepos et du *De Bello Gallico* de Jules César. Au cours du dernier cycle, les séminaristes répétaient la grammaire et la syntaxe, et les traductions de Tite-Live, Salluste et Cicéron leur furent apprises.

Dans le rapport annuel que Mgr Huys fit pour l'année 1905-1906, il est question des auteurs suivants :

Notre élève-philosophe fait des progrès très sérieux en sagesse et en vertu. Il vient de finir la métaphysique. La facilité de conception qu'il a de ces matières abstraites est étonnante chez un Noir. D'ores et déjà, il est hors de doute qu'aucune des matières de l'enseignement ecclésiastique ne surpassera sa conception. A la fin de l'année scolaire 1907, s'il plaît à Dieu, il aura achevé toute la philosophie. A cet effet, il suit un cours extrait de Lorenzelli et de Farges. Toute la philosophie se fait en latin. A côté de la philosophie, il mène de front les cours de science, de langue française, d'harmonium...<sup>36</sup>

Quelques précisions s'imposent sur les auteurs dont les livres ont été présentés aux jeunes latinistes congolais. Le premier, l'Italien Benedetto Lorenzelli, était connu par son ouvrage, en deux volumes, dont le titre est : *Philosophiae institutiones secundum doctrinam Aristotelis et S. Thomae Aquinatis*. La première édition de ce livre parut en 1890 et la seconde en 1896.

Le second, le Français Albert Farges (1848-1926), était membre de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice. Il fut économiste du Séminaire de l'Institut Catholique de Paris de 1882 à 1895, mais enseignait en même temps à la faculté de philosophie. Il s'est principalement fait une réputation comme vulgarisateur de la philosophie thomiste à travers des articles, un manuel et neuf volumes d'*Etudes philosophiques* parus entre 1888 et 1907.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo, Rapport général du R. P. Huys, *Rapports annuels de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs)*, n° 1, 1905-1906 (Alger, 1907), p. 241.

<sup>37</sup> Irénée Noye, 'Farges Albert', dans *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1962), col. 95-97.

Dans le rapport de 1907-1908, le père Joseph Weymeersch (1879-1941) présenta les livres et auteurs classiques que les séminaristes devaient apprendre: l'*Epitome Historiae Sacrae*; le *De viris illustribus*; les *Flores e Patribus*; Jules César; Cornélius Nepos, Tite-Live; le *De amicitia* et quelques discours de Cicéron.

L'*Epitome Historiae Sacrae* (vers 1775) et le *De viris illustribus urbis Romae a Romulo ad Augustum* (1784) sont deux ouvrages — longuement considérés comme de véritables chefs-d'oeuvre du point de vue pédagogique — que Charles-François Lhomond (1727-1794), un abbé d'origine française, avait spécialement conçus et composés pour les enfants qui commençaient à apprendre le latin.

Des *Flores e Patribus et scriptoribus ecclesiae Latinae selecti*, existent plusieurs éditions. Ce recueil reprend des auteurs tels que Tertullien et Cyprien. Il y eut des éditions annotées spécialement *ad usum juventutis humaniorum litterarum studiosae*, dont la plus ancienne parut en 1848 et une autre, en deux volumes, en 1903.

Ce fut en 1905 que le père Huys commença à enseigner aux premiers grands séminaristes les premiers éléments de la philosophie. Les cours n'étaient encore ni réguliers ni à heures fixes. Les missionnaires étant occupés par les constructions, les leçons de latin et de philosophie furent données aux heures libres.<sup>38</sup>

Les élèves qui aspiraient à entrer au grand séminaire étaient obligés de solliciter, par écrit, une autorisation au Vicaire Apostolique. Ils avaient alors devant eux une période de huit ans pendant laquelle les cours principaux étaient la philosophie et la théologie. Quant au programme à suivre, il fut emprunté du grand séminaire que le cardinal Charles Lavigerie avait ouvert pour les membres de sa société à Carthage.<sup>39</sup>

Et pour qu'il n'y eût pas de confusion dans l'esprit des élèves, les philosophes et théologiens non-catholiques ne figuraient pas sur le programme. L'enseignement de philosophie se donna en latin et celui des branches secondaires en français. On se trompe donc quand on pense que ce grand séminaire ne pouvait être qu'une sorte d'école primaire supérieure.

<sup>38</sup> Auguste Huys, *Le Séminaire indigène des Pères Blancs au Congo*, dans *Missions d'Afrique des Pères Blancs*, 1923, pp. 319-320.

<sup>39</sup> Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo (rapport général du R.P. Huys), dans *Rapports annuels de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afriques* (1905-1906), n° 1, Alger, 1907, p. 242: 'Nous avons jugé le moment venu de nous faire envoyer tous les auteurs suivis au grand Séminaire de Carthage'.

Dans une lettre, en date du 11 avril 1910, Stephano Kaoze (ca. 1890-1951), un des élèves du grand séminaire, évoqua un des cours qu'il suivit:

Je ne puis pas finir sans vous faire savoir de mes études. J'en suis dans le traité *De Deo Redemptore*. Celui-ci est la dernière année au dogme, trois ans suivant seront pour la morale."<sup>40</sup>

L'ouvrage auquel Kaoze réfèra, a pour titre exact: *Tractatus de Deo Redemptore quem in usum auditorum suorum concinnavit G. van Noort*. Cette première édition, procurée par Gerardus Cornelis Van Noort (1861-1946), parut à Amsterdam en 1904.<sup>41</sup> En 1910, le père J. Gallenkamp signala un autre livre scolaire qui n'était pas des moindres:

Les deux latinistes sont tombés sur le Catéchisme du Concile de Trente en latin et essaient bon gré mal gré de s'entraider mutuellement dans l'analyse grammaticale de la construction des phrases de ce latin beau mais difficile pour des jeunes latinistes.<sup>42</sup>

A côté de cela, les cours suivants furent donnés pendant la période que les élèves passaient au grand séminaire: première année, la philosophie, l'histoire ecclésiastique, l'arithmétique, la minéralogie-géologie; la liturgie; deuxième année, la philosophie, l'histoire ecclésiastique, l'arithmétique, la physique, la liturgie; troisième année, *la theologia dogmatica fundamentalis*, l'introduction générale à l'Écriture Sainte, l'arithmétique, la botanique, la liturgie; quatrième année, *la theologia dogmatica specialis*, les livres historiques de l'ancien testament, l'arithmétique, la zoologie, la liturgie; cinquième année, *la theologia moralis (de principiis)*, les autres livres de l'ancien testament, l'arithmétique, l'anatomie, la liturgie; sixième année, *la theologia moralis specialis*, les Évangiles et les Actes des Apôtres, l'arithmétique, la physiologie et l'hygiène, la liturgie; septième année, *De Sacramentis (pars dogmatica)*, les lettres et l'Apocalypse, l'arithmétique, la médecine, la liturgie; huitième année, *De Sacramentis (pars moralis)*, le droit canonique, l'arithmétique, la géographie générale; la liturgie.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Lettre de S. Kaoze à A. Smulders, Baudouinville, 11 avril 1910, *La Revue Congolaise* (Bruxelles, 1911), p. 159.

<sup>41</sup> La seconde et la troisième édition suivirent respectivement en 1910 à Amsterdam, et en 1918 à Bussum. La quatrième édition de 1925 fut réalisée à Hilversum par J. P. Verhaar.

<sup>42</sup> J. Gallenkamp., 'Uit de Catechistschool van Lusaka (Belgisch Opper-Congo), de zondagmorgen van een missionaris', *Missiën van Afrika* (Anvers, 1910), p. 267.

<sup>43</sup> A. Van den Bulcke, *Zwarte Helpers* (Anvers, 1925), pp. 92-93.

Quand en 1906, Stephano Kaoze reprit ses études sous la direction du père Albert Smulders, les leçons se donnèrent dans la chambre du père-directeur. Ce n'est qu'en 1911 que fut édifié un grand séminaire où Kaoze s'installa avec trois autres compagnons. C'est en 1906 que Stephano Kaoze et Julio Mulongo entrèrent au grand séminaire de Baudouinville où ils suivirent des cours de philosophie sous la direction du père Huys. Le condisciple de Kaoze abandonna les études trois mois après son entrée au grand séminaire.

Il faut admettre que, malgré les conditions de travail extrêmement pénibles et les faibles moyens de bord dont disposaient les missionnaires, le degré de la connaissance de cette langue classique était assez convenable chez les latinistes congolais. Les professeurs imposèrent des exercices de rédaction et de conversations latines en vue de leur entrée au grand séminaire.

#### 4. Quatre lettres latines, 1905-1906

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous proposons quatre rédactions latines qui datent de 1905 et de 1906. Elles étaient de la plume de séminaristes en formation chez les Pères Blancs. Ces missionnaires les jugeaient satisfaisantes pour qu'elles soient reproduites dans leurs mensuels. Ils avaient déjà exprimé leur contentement au sujet de la connaissance latine de leurs pupilles dans le rapport annuel de 1904:

Mpala, l'école des catéchistes compte soixante élèves; une dizaine parmi eux suivent les cours de latin. Les deux plus grands, âgés d'une vingtaine d'années, ont traduit les meilleurs auteurs classiques depuis l'Épître jusqu'aux discours de Cicéron inclusivement, aussi sont-ils capables d'écrire passablement le latin...<sup>44</sup>

##### 4.1 Deux lettres de Stephano Kaoze

Nous avons retrouvé deux lettres que le séminariste Stephano Kaoze a composées en latin. La première date du 17 mars 1905. Elle est demeurée inédite jusqu'à présent et, en outre, elle se révèle la plus ancienne lettre kaozienne jamais retrouvée. Ce document est conservé dans les

<sup>44</sup> Haut-Congo, année 1904 Rapport de Mgr Roelens, *Rapports annuels de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 117 (Alger, juin 1905), p. 274.

archives des Pères Blancs à Bruxelles.<sup>45</sup> Rappelons que plusieurs lettres de Kaoze, écrites en kitabwa, en swahili en français entre 1907 et 1909, furent réunies et publiées par le père Pierre Colle (1872-1961) en 1911.<sup>46</sup>

En tête de cette missive est marqué au crayon, dans une écriture qui n'est pas celle de Kaoze, le nom du Père Kindt (1872-1947), qui se prénomait Joseph. La lettre, rédigée le 17 mars — c'est-à-dire le jour de la fête patronale de Saint-Joseph d'Arimatee, disciple fidèle de Jésus et membre du sanhédrin juif —, constitue un argument complémentaire qui nous fait croire qu'il s'agit sans aucun doute de Joseph Kindt.<sup>47</sup>

Le second texte latin de Kaoze avait Mgr Victor Roelens pour destinataire. Il a été reproduit en 1907, avec une traduction néerlandaise, dans la revue des Pères Blancs, *Missiën der Witte Paters*. Remarquons aussi qu'il est demeuré ignoré des biographes de Kaoze jusqu'à présent.<sup>48</sup>

Ce document ne porte aucune date, mais il a été rédigé un 21 juillet, le jour qu'à la mission de Baudouinville on célébrait traditionnellement la fête patronale et l'anniversaire de Mgr Victor Roelens (né à Ardooie le 21 juillet 1858):

21 juillet 1900 (Baudouinville): Fête patronale et anniversaire de la naissance de Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Roelens. Nous donnons congé à tous nos ouvriers. Sa Grandeur chante la grand'messe dans notre pauvre chapelle, trop petite pour la foule de nos chrétiens...<sup>49</sup>

Quant à l'année, il n'y a aucun doute que cela soit 1906. D'ailleurs, cette lettre fut classée, dans le même numéro des *Missiën der Witte Paters*, entre deux lettres qui confirment cette date. La première fut

<sup>45</sup> Lettre originale de S. Kaoze à Joseph Kindt (?), Mpala, die 17 martii 1905, dans *Archives des Pères Blancs à Bruxelles*, dossier Kaoze.

<sup>46</sup> Quelques lettres de Stephano Kaoze, recueillies et traduites par Pierre Colle, dans *La Revue Congolaise* (Bruxelles, 1911), pp. 141-161. *Stephano Kaoze, La psychologie des Bantu et quelques lettres (1907-1911)*, reproduction anastatique par A. J. Smet, Cours et Documents 1, Département de Philosophie et Religions Africaines, Faculté de Théologie Catholique (Kinshasa, 1979). La biographie la plus récente sur le premier prêtre congolais s'intitule: *Stephano Kaoze, prêtre d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (par un groupe de recherche dirigé par Mgr Kimpinde, évêque de Kilwa-Kasenga), Ed. Saint Paul Afrique (Kinshasa, 1982).

<sup>47</sup> Remarquons que dans les chroniques des Pères Blancs on peut lire qu'en 1900, par exemple, à Notre-Dame de Mpala la fête de Saint-Joseph fut organisée le 19 mars. Il y eût messe chantée et le travail chôma à la mission. Cf. *Chroniques de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 88 (Alger, octobre 1900), p. 566.

<sup>48</sup> Lettre de S. Kaoze à Mgr V. Roelens, Mpala, fête du St Victor, *Missiën der Witte Paters* (Anvers, 1907), p. 188.

<sup>49</sup> Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo, dans *Chroniques de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 89 (Alger, janvier 1901), p. 104.

rédigée 6 novembre 1906 par un groupe de jeunes latinistes; l'autre fut adressée par le Père Louis Verstraete (1875-1937), supérieur de la Mission de Mpala, à ses parents le 15 novembre 1906.<sup>50</sup>

Nous voudrions aussi, avant de présenter ces deux lettres latines kaoziennes, attirer l'attention sur le fait que Mgr Roelens les a reçues en Belgique. Il était rentré pour un congé de convalescence. Ayant débarqué à Anvers le 8 août 1905 il ne regagnera son vicariat que vers la mi-mars 1907.

I. Mpalae, die 17 martii 1905.

Reverende Pater,

Occasione festi Sancti Patroni tui, tam jucundi quam laeti ubique diei, quum ille tuus Patronus pronus sit intercedere pro te, maxime gaudeo. Insuper etiam meas humillimas orationes tui [*sic pro tua*] gratia offero: Deus bonus caelestem rorem suum animae tuae uberrime infundat, ut expleat omnia, quantacumque sint, quae attinent ad tuam felicitatem. Postremo e terris incolumis in caelum ascendas maximis gaudiis cum Sancto tuo Patrono repletus. Imploro obtestorque a bono Deo id quod permagnum est in hac nostra regione, scilicet, vitam tuam longiorem protendat, ut maximam opem pro salute nostra impendas. Servus tuus humillimus, Stephano Kaoze, ex seminario Mpalensi.

Mpala, le 17 mars 1905.

Révérend Père,

A l'occasion de ta fête patronale, un jour aussi agréable que joyeux partout, je me réjouis infiniment que ton patron soit disposé à intervenir en ta faveur.

En plus, je te présente aussi mes très modestes prières. Que le bon Dieu puisse verser très abondamment ses gouttes de rosée céleste dans ton âme, de sorte qu'Il puisse satisfaire à toutes les choses, grandes ou petites qu'elles soient, ayant rapport avec ta béatitude.

<sup>50</sup> Lettre de Louis Verstraete à ses parents, Mpala, 15 novembre 1906, *Missiën der Witte Paters* (Anvers, 1907), pp. 184-187.



Puisses-tu, à la fin de ta vie, monter sain et sauf de la terre au ciel, rempli de la plus grande joie, avec ton patron.

Je prie et je supplie le bon Dieu ce qui est de la plus grande importance dans notre région, notamment qu'Il prolonge encore ta vie, pour que tu puisses faire la contribution la plus riche qui soit possible à notre salut.

Ton serviteur très humble,

Stephane Kaoze, du séminaire de Mpala.

II.

Mpala, die festo Sancti Victoris.

Reverendissime Domine Episcopo,

In hac die festiva Sancti Victoris, patroni tui, acceptabile nobis omnibus est indignis sed dilectissimis [*sic pro dilectissimis*] filiis ex schola Mpala, Tibi gratula[m]ri pro posse nostro.

Unusquisque inter nos haud ignorat dignum et justum esse, praecipue in hac die festiva, Te laudare Episcopum directoremque omnium animarum hujus regionis, cui tantum opus dirigendi omnes, ut in caelum perveniant, incumbit, Te quidem qui praefecisti nobis sacerdotes ut nos doceant sermones Dei, nec non linguae latinae scientiam et plurima alia, quo magis intelligamus quam viles simus coram Deo et incipiamus intelligere ineffabilem Dei bonitatem[.] Tanta gratia adjuti paulisper e cloaca erigere [*sic pro erigi*] poterimus, et opem sacerdotibus praestare. Pro Te igitur, Patre carissimo, cui incumbit tantum negotium per merita Sancti Victoris, Omnipotentem Deum oramus ut repleat Te bonis animae et corporis, ut degas longam vitam dirigendo multos fratres. Beatus Victor intercedat pro Te, gratias multas a Deo impetret, ut cum Eo in Caelo laeteris traducasque nos illuc. Et Tu, Episcopo noster, pro nobis roges, praesertim pro me filiolo praeamante ad sacerdotium pervenire.

Accipias, Domine Episcopo, epistolam cum salute a servo tuo minimo, Stephano Kaoze.

Mpala, le jour de fête de St Victor

Très Révérend Monsieur l'Evêque,

Le joyeux jour de ton patron, St Victor, nous tous, tes indignes mais bien-aimés fils de l'Ecole de Mpala, profitons de l'occasion pour te

féliciter de tout coeur. Chacun de nous sait très bien qu'il est digne et convenable, surtout ce jour de fête, de te louer comme Evêque et administrateur de toutes les âmes de cette région. Sur toi repose la grande charge de conduire tous de sorte qu'ils arrivent au ciel. Nous te faisons l'éloge surtout parce que tu nous as donné des prêtres qui nous prêchent la parole de Dieu et nous enseignent la langue latine et beaucoup d'autres sciences, par quel moyen nous comprenons mieux combien nous sommes pauvres aux yeux de Dieu et nous arrivons à comprendre la bonté inexprimable de Dieu.

Aidés par cette grande grâce, nous pourrions sortir de l'abîme de l'incrédulité et assister aux prêtres. Alors pour toi, très cher Père, qui portes de telles lourdes charges, nous prions Dieu Tout-Puissant à travers les mérites de St Victor, de te remplir de biens spirituels et corporels pour que tu puisses vivre longtemps et diriger beaucoup de gens. Que Saint-Victor parle en ta faveur, reçoive beaucoup de grâce chez Dieu, pour que tu puisses te réjouir avec Lui au ciel et aussi nous transférer ci-haut. Et toi, illustre Evêque, prie pour nous, surtout pour moi, ton pauvre fils, qui désire ardemment devenir prêtre.

Accepte, Monsieur l'Evêque, la lettre avec le salut de ton serviteur le plus petit,

Stéphane Kaoze.

En parcourant les deux lettres, nous découvrons un jeune séminariste pieux et reconnaissant à l'égard des deux missionnaires. Kaoze les remercie de leur engagement pour sortir les Noirs de la pauvreté matérielle et spirituelle. En tant qu'apologie de l'entreprise missionnaire ces lettres ne pouvaient que susciter un sentiment d'auto-satisfaction chez ces religieux.

#### 4.2 Deux autres lettres latines

La troisième lettre, reproduite dans *Missiën der Witte Paters* en 1907, fut rédigée par Laurent Wutuluba et expédiée à Mgr Roelens.<sup>51</sup> Tout ce que nous savons de ce garçon, c'est qu'il était un condisciple de Kaoze au grand séminaire. Nous demeurons dans l'incertitude concernant sa disparition du grand séminaire: est-il parti de son plein gré? a-t-il été renvoyé

<sup>51</sup> Lettre de Laurent Wutuluba à Mgr V. Roelens, Mpala, fête du St Victor, *Missiën der Witte Paters* (Anvers, 1907), p. 190.

ou ré-orienté par les missionnaires? a-t-il été fauché, comme tant d'autres élèves, par la maladie du sommeil qui sévissait alors dans la région?

Dans cette rédaction, le prélat de Baudouinville fut encensé comme quelqu'un qui, au détriment de sa santé -n'oublions pas qu'il était retourné en Belgique pour cette raison- s'était inlassablement engagé pour libérer les Noirs de l'esclavage et du paganisme. Wutuluba le compara également à un bon berger qui prend très délicatement soin de son troupeau.

Mpalae, die festo Sancti Victoris

Illustrissime Domine Episcopo

Ave noster domine Episcopo, ave! Ego puer tuus, in die festiva sancti Victoris, pro te ad Deum oro ut tibi benedicat. Victor cum esset in mundo, fuit sanctus ante Deum. Anima ejus spectavit ad Deum, licet esset miles mundi; at habuit animam puram. Multum amavit Deum suum, tantopere ut interfectus sit Christi Jesu Domini nostri causa, vicitque bona mundi; anima ejus gavis est in mortem [*sic pro morte*] causa Dei, et tu, Domine noster, egressus es ex Belgio, ut liberares nos Nigros, qui perditum eramus ob servitutem magnam, licet ex via passus es [*sic pro esses*] dolores multos causa animae nostrae. Deus praefecit te constantem, ne molliaris doloribus. Nunc venisti ad nos ut doceres nos verba Dei, tantopere ut ego cum essem inter paganos, liberaveris me. Deus Te elegit ut episcopus sis, christianos administres, eos in iter bonum dirigas et nos gaudeamus; itaque Deus, ut esses Dominus noster utque administrares homines nigros, Te elegit, ne pereant miseri. Iter aliud si eant, tu eos dirigas, portesque in prata pulchra sicut bonus pastor oves suas ducit in paludes pulchras eas ut custodiat a periculis. Vale, Domine Episcopo, Deus tibi auxilietur ut ad eum pervenias.

Saluto Te ego puer tuus.

Laurentius Wutuluba

Mpala, le jour de fête de St Victor

Très Illustre Monsieur l'Evêque,

Salut, illustre Monsieur l'Evêque, salut! Moi, ton enfant, prie Dieu pour toi, en ce jour de la fête de Saint Victor, pour qu'Il te bénisse.

Quand Victor était dans le monde, il était saint devant Dieu. Son âme éprouvait du respect pour Dieu. Quoiqu'étant un soldat du monde, il avait une âme pure. Il aimait tant son Dieu qu'il a été tué pour la cause de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ. Il a vaincu les biens du monde; son âme s'est réjouie dans la mort pour la cause de Dieu, et toi, notre Monseigneur, es venu de la Belgique pour nous libérer, les Noirs, qui étions perdus par le grand esclavage; quoiqu'en route tu aies subi de multiples douleurs pour la cause de notre âme. Dieu t'a rendu ferme pour que tu ne te laisses pas abattre par les douleurs.

Tu es maintenant venu vers nous pour nous apprendre les paroles de Dieu; de façon que tu m'as libéré moi, qui étais parmi les païens. Dieu t'a élu pour être évêque, pour administrer les chrétiens, pour les mener sur la bonne route et pour que tu arrives chez Lui. Je te salue, moi, ton enfant.

Laurent Wutuluba

Le dernier document est une lettre collective d'un groupe de latinistes dont malheureusement nous ne disposons pas de noms. Contrairement aux deux lettres précédentes, elle n'a pas été intégrée dans l'édition néerlandaise des Pères Blancs, mais dans l'édition française, *Les Missions des Pères Blancs*.<sup>52</sup> Le texte fut lui aussi composé le 6 novembre 1906 et constitua une lettre de nouvel an. Et que purent-ils souhaiter à Mgr Roelens si ce n'était une bonne santé et un retour rapide parmi ses enfants qui lui promirent une obéissance infaillible?

Ex urbe Balduini, die 6 Novembris 1906.

Illustrissime Domine Episcopo,

Pudet nos quod nunc primam ad Te Scribamus epistolam. Attamen nunc in principio anni novi, amorem et gratitudinem nostram valde ostendere cupimus. Quamvis a nobis separatus sis, Tu nos tuis verbis educare studes, tuis orationibus adjuvas. Deo gratias agimus et Tibi. Tu nos amas, et nos nostri episcopi non obliti sumus. Te amamus, et idcirco Deum ut reducat Te in nostra hac regione [*sic pro* in nostram hanc

<sup>52</sup> Lettre des latinistes à Mgr V. Roelens, Baudouinville, 6 novembre 1906, *Les Missions des Pères Blancs* (Anvers, 1907), pp. 120-122.

regionem] orare volumus. Omni die hujus anni, Deum orabimus ut Tibi magnam valitudinem [*sic pro* valetudinem] tribuat. Omni die monita pulchra tua obtemperandi erimus [*sic pro* monitis tuis obtemperaturi sumus], ne Tibi afferamus dolores, quos Tibi, quum tua verba sprevissemus, attulimus. Deum deprecamur ut Te, Illustrissime Domine, vivum et valitudine [*sic pro* valetudine] plenum ad nos filiolos tuos reducat. Tibi promittimus, nos semper monita verbaque pulchra Patrum nostrorum secuturos, ut Tibi gaudium magnum afferamus et Deo nostro valde placeamus. Hanc epistolam, Illustrissime Domine Episcopo, nostra, quae ex corde pleno et amore et gratitudine, egrediuntur, vota dicentem, accipias. Nos filioli Tui Latinistae.

Baudouinville, le 6 Novembre 1906.

Très Illustre Monsieur l'Evêque,

Ce n'est pas sans honte que nous t'écrivons seulement maintenant notre première lettre. Cependant au commencement de cette nouvelle année nous désirons ardemment te montrer notre amour et notre reconnaissance.

Quoique séparé de nous, tu t'appliques à nous instruire par tes paroles, Tu nous secoures par tes prières. Nous en remercions le Bon Dieu et Ta Grandeur. Tu nous aimes, et c'est pourquoi nous voulons supplier Dieu de te ramener dans notre pays. Chaque jour de cette année nous prions Dieu de t'accorder une santé robuste. Tous les jours nous obéirons à tes bons conseils, pour ne pas te causer de la douleur; ce que nous ferions si nous méprisions tes paroles. Nous prions Dieu de te ramener plein de vie et de santé auprès de nous, tes petits enfants. Nous te promettons de suivre toujours les conseils de nos Pères, afin de réjouir ton coeur, et de plaire à notre Dieu.

Agrée, Illustrissime Seigneur Evêque, cette lettre. Elle t'exprime les vœux que nous formons d'un coeur plein d'amour et de reconnaissance. Tes petits enfants latinistes

## Conclusion

En présentant ces lettres latines, composées par leurs élèves, les Pères Blancs cherchaient à atteindre deux buts. Premièrement, ces écrits

devaient constituer un véritable exploit aux yeux des lecteurs qui ne pouvaient plus douter des beaux résultats des oeuvres congolaises de cette société religieuse. Deuxièmement, en chantant les louanges du Père Joseph Kindt et principalement de Mgr Roelens, ces séminaristes confirmaient l'image positive que leurs éducateurs et professeurs essayaient de créer d'eux-mêmes. Dans la littérature et l'iconographie contemporaine, les missionnaires aimaient se représenter comme des civilisateurs et des libérateurs de la race noire.

En ce qui concerne la connaissance du latin que les séminaristes congolais ont acquise au cours de ces nombreuses années de formation, elle ne s'est pas, par la suite, totalement évaporée. Ordonnés prêtres, ils étaient obligés de se servir encore de cette langue pour célébrer la messe. En outre, certains aimaient saupoudrer leurs lettres et articles de mots ou de phrases latins. Kaoze fut un des abbés qui régulièrement illustra son savoir classique en intégrant des expressions latines dans ses écrits. Dans une dissertation sur les Watabwa, leur religion et leurs superstitions, publiée dans *Missiën der Witte Paters* en 1910 (il était encore séminariste), il décrit, par exemple, sa mère comme "mater naturalis [*sic pro naturaliter*] christiana", c'est-à-dire, "une mère de nature chrétienne".<sup>53</sup> Au cours de la même année, le Jésuite Arthur Vermeersch (1858-1936) présenta dans *la Revue Congolaise* le mémoire de Kaoze sur *La psychologie des Bantu*, constituant les premières notes scientifiques jamais écrites par un Congolais. Essayant d'expliquer que selon les croyances Tabwa, les morts ne partent pas au *Muzulu*, i.e. le ciel où réside Dieu, mais bien au *Kumbo*, ce séminariste prétend que ce dernier terme provient étymologiquement du latin, notamment du mot *limbus*, ce qui était bien évidemment une explication fantaisiste de sa part:

- Où sont-ils? Chez Dieu. Mais où? en haut?
- Non, non pas dans les cieux ou se trouve le Leza (Dieu) mais 'Kumbo'. Ce mot ne vient-il pas du mot 'limbus' dont l'ablatif est datif est 'limbo'. 'Ku' veut dire ici 'aux'; tandis que 'mbo' est pluriel du singulier 'limbo' mais tout à fait inusité, et sans connaître bien la langue on ne saurait pas. Le Kumbo est un endroit où les morts survivant se trouvent réunis pour toujours à ne plus jamais mourir.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Texte de S. Kaoze reproduit dans Albert Smulders, 'De Watabwa, hunne godsdienstleer en bijgeloovigheden', *Missiën der Witte Paters* (Anvers, 1910), p. 118.

<sup>54</sup> Stephano Kaoze, 'La psychologie des Bantu', *La Revue Congolaise* (Bruxelles, 1910), pp. 425-426.

Kaoze fut ordonné prêtre le 21 juillet 1917. A l'occasion de l'ordination du premier prêtre congolais, une grande pancarte fut exhibée avec une inscription en latin. Cette langue frappait toujours l'imagination des fidèles. En voici les termes:

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Belgii Moribus Excultus        | Formé dans les moeurs belges                      |
| Religione Fit Sacerdos!        | il devient prêtre dans la foi!                    |
| 1886                           | 1886  |
| Ecce Stephanus Ethiops         | Voici Stéphane l'Ethiopien                        |
| Sacerdos Censetur in Aeternum! | est éternellement compté parmi les prêtres!       |
| 1917                           | 1917  |
| Stephane, ad multos annos      | Stéphane, encore beaucoup d'années! <sup>55</sup> |

Il fut, toute sa vie durant, un passionné de la culture de son groupe ethnique. On trouve dans presque toutes ses notices scientifiques des passages latins. En 1930, il rédigea sur le *mukowa* ou le clan des Batabwa, une étude dans laquelle il inséra des brefs fragments latins.<sup>56</sup> En 1942, dans une étude sur la cérémonie des jumeaux, il mentionna que lors des chants et des danses, tout ce qui se rapportait à l'acte conjugal s'exprimait en des termes voilés. Quant à Kaoze, qui les considérait comme immoraux, il les reproduit dans sa langue secrète, c'est-à-dire en latin:

Oportet te succumbere, visum erga genitorem (maritum) habere; corde hilari erga istum (maritum) a [*sic*] te monstrare; ita ut iste (maritus) omnem verecundiam deponat et libenter actum compleat... Talia enim sunt documenta majorum nostrorum, et manium patrum et celestium spiritum... Si ergo es maximo momento supin[a], dubium est te geminos habere...<sup>57</sup>

(Tu dois te choucher de dessous et tenir le visage vers le géniteur (le mari); avec un coeur joyeux tu dois te montrer à ton mari pour que le mari laisse tomber toute honte et accomplisse l'acte avec complaisance... Donc, ainsi sont les documents de nos pères, et la main de nos pères et de l'esprit céleste... Si tu es couché au moment le plus important, c'est douteux que tu auras des jumeaux...).

<sup>55</sup> 'Le clergé indigène dans les Missions des Pères Blancs', *Missions des Pères Blancs* (Anvers, 1919), p. 100.

<sup>56</sup> Stephano Kaoze, 'Le mukowa ou le clan', Kala, 1930, dans *Archives de l'Evêché de Kalemie*, Fonds Kaoze: "la séparation quoad torum" (p. 10) ("la séparation en ce qui concerne le lit"); "le débitum matrimonial" (p. 11) ("le devoir conjugal"); "la fraternité in genere" (p.11) ("la fraternité"); "chefs... primus inter pares" (p. 16) ("chefs").

<sup>57</sup> Stephano Kaoze, 'Culte et superstitions des Batabwa', avril 1942, dans *Archives de l'Evêché de Kalemie*, Fonds Kaoze, cahier 7, p. 62.

Nous voudrions, en guise de conclusion, reproduire un événement, anecdotique mais aussi significatif, qui s'est produit en 1919. Il s'agit de la rencontre du premier prêtre congolais avec les jeunes séminaristes des Pères de Scheut installés à Nouvelle-Anvers (dans la Province de l'Equateur).

Le 1 mai 1919, Kaoze partit pour le Bas-Congo en compagnie de Mgr Roelens qui devait assister à Kisantu à la septième Assemblée des Supérieurs ou Représentants des Missions Catholiques du Congo. Ils arrivèrent à Kinshasa le 28 juin pour poursuivre leur chemin vers Kisantu le 30 juin. Ils furent de retour dans la capitale le 24 juillet et le 4 août ils montèrent à bord du steamer *Brabant* en destination des Stanley Falls.

Au retour à Albertville, Kaoze envoya une lettre à un missionnaire de Scheut, que nous n'avons pas pu identifier, qui contient quelques passages des plus intéressants. Il y évoqua sa rencontre, du 12 août 1919, avec des élèves du petit séminaire de Nouvelle Anvers. L'unique langue dans laquelle Kaoze et ces jeunes étudiants purent communiquer, fut le latin. Il raconta ses expériences dans les termes suivants:

A Nouvel Anvers, je me trouve enfin devant les séminaristes que je désirais tant voir. Je fus cependant fort bien ennuyé de parler en latin. Enfin ça y était:

'Salve, Reverende Domine, Stéphane' (Salut, Révérend Monsieur Stéphane).

Faut-il répondre: salvete, ou salve tout court? Je ne m'étais pas attendu à celle-là. Je n'eus pas le temps d'y penser plus, je balbutiai: 'Salve, Seminaristae'.

On se regarda, quelque moment, sans mot dire. Comment débiter? Je suis sur la piste: 'Ecce Cirillus, dis-je en désignant le premier venu parmi eux. Ne quaquam, me répondirent-ils en riant, 'ecce Cirillus' en désignant le vrai Cirille).

Je ne trouvais pas l'expression pour dire: Combien êtes-vous au séminaire. Il faut cependant se débrouyer. Voici comment je la tournai: 'Estis ne multi in seminario?'

<sup>58</sup> Lettre originale de Stephano Kaoze à un missionnaire (inconnu), Lusaka, 10 décembre 1946, dans *Archives des Pères Blancs à Bruxelles*, dossier Kaoze. Vicariat Apostolique du Haut-Congo, dans *Chroniques de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, n° 89 (Alger, janvier 1901), p. 100: '19 juin 1900 (Baudouinville):... Le danois est... quelque peu astrologique, car à force de lever le coude, et d'ausculter le soleil et les étoiles, à travers le fond d'une bouteille de whisky, paraît peu disposé à s'embarquer. Il faut le faire descendre au Lac, comme un colis, et l'embarquer de même. Le pauvre malade est sous bonne garde! En voilà qui sont loin de jouir de l'ecce quam bonum et jucundum habitare fratres in unum...'. Cf. V. Coornaert, *Concordantiae Librorum veteris et novi testamenti Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Bruges, 1897), p. 60 et p. 224.



‘Per quos annos lingua latina studetis?’

‘Quid de grammatica vidistis... et quid de aliis scientiis, etc.?’

A toutes ces questions, les coquins me répondirent dans un latin correct. Vraiment, pour si peu d’années qu’ils étudient du latin, je trouve que le progrès est incomparable. Ils se mirent à me montrer leurs cahiers. Je mis tout un temps à les regarder, tant par l’intérêt que pour gagner du temps, car la conversation dans une langue qu’on n’est pas habitué à parler, est bien sèche.

Après quoi je les encourageai. Entretemps S. Gr. Mgr Roelens vint les voir. Enfin ils me prièrent de penser à eux dans le Memento de ma messe, ce à quoi je ne manquerai pas.<sup>59</sup>

Sans vouloir porter un jugement, même approximatif, sur la connaissance de Kaoze de la langue de Didérot, nous estimons toutefois utile de signaler quelques erreurs linguistiques: *ennuyeux* au lieu de *ennuyé*; et *débrouyer* au lieu de *débrouiller*, et *Cirille* au lieu de *Cyrille*.

Il ne s’agit pas de coquilles, mais de fautes dues à une connaissance médiocre du français. Nous pourrions tirer la même conclusion pour ce qui était de sa maîtrise du latin: elle n’était que moyenne. Néanmoins, les circonstances assez difficiles dans lesquelles Kaoze et ses condisciples se sont engagés dans l’apprentissage de la langue de Cicéron, nous invitent à leur excuser ces erreurs. Alors, nous nous permettons de conclure qu’ils ont réussi au début de ce siècle les épreuves du rite de passage... qui a conduit l’Afrique Centrale dans la latinité.

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<sup>59</sup> Lettre de S. Kaoze à un missionnaire de Scheut, Albertville, 27 octobre 1919, dans *Archives C.I.C.M. à Rome*, Z.III f.1.

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apparaverunt

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### *Appellatio ad auctores*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 1999.

### SIGLA:

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <i>AHSI</i>    | <i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)  |
| <i>ARG</i>     | <i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)   |
| <i>BHR</i>     | <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)  |
| <i>ERSY</i>    | <i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Madison, Wisconsin)  |
| <i>EXCPHIL</i> | <i>Excerpta Philologica</i> (Cádiz)  |
| <i>GSLI</i>    | <i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino)  |
| <i>HL</i>      | <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)  |
| <i>IJCT</i>    | <i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)   |
| <i>IMU</i>     | <i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i> (Milano)   |
| <i>JMRS</i>    | <i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)                                      |
| <i>JWCI</i>    | <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)  |
| <i>NJ</i>      | <i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature</i> (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York) |
| <i>RIN</i>     | <i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)  |
| <i>RnR</i>     | <i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)  |
| <i>RPL</i>     | <i>Respublica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas)  |
| <i>RQ</i>      | <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)  |
| <i>RS</i>      | <i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)                        |
| <i>SCJ</i>     | <i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (University of Missouri, Columbia)  |
| <i>WBN</i>     | <i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)   |
| <i>WRM</i>     | <i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)   |

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- ACNBa* *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bari 29 August to 3 September 1994.* General Editor Rhoda Schnur. Edited by J.F. Alcina, J. Dillon, W. Ludwig, Colette Nativel, M. De Nichilo and S. Ryle, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 184 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).
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Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurο Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellula (\*) notavimus; cruce (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven offenduntur. Nomina locorum atque ex eis derivata parcius afferuntur.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| *Abelita vel Abelites, -ae: descendant of Abel: p. 258                                     | *+Baro, -onis: baron: p. 20   |
| Aegyptizare, -o: to act like an Egyptian (cfr. Αἰγυπτιάζειν): p. 310                       | Botivora, -ae: person devouring sausages: p. 216                              |
| *+Ammiraldus, -i: admiral: p. 20   | *Cainita vel Cainites, -ae: descendant of Cain: p. 258                        |
| *Anglicanus, -a, -um: pertaining to England: pp. 307, 310, 315                             | Carthaginensis, -is, -e = Carthaginiensis: p. 26                              |
| Anglocalvinista, -ae: Anglican: p. 278   | *Catecheticus = catechisticus: p. 356   |
| Apathea, -ae = apathia: p. 356   | *+Caudatus, -a, -um: having a tail (cfr. ThLL s.v. cauda-caudacus(?)): p. 332 |
| *Archicapellanus, -i: arch-chaplain: p. 320  | *+Causificatio, -onis: seizing at any pretext: p. 59                          |
| *+Archiepiscopatus, -us: archbishopric: p. 278   | Citrigenus, -a, -um: producing citrus fruit: p. 157                           |
| armarius, -a, -um: vox incertae significationis; an aromatarius (cfr. Hoven s.v.)?: p. 336 | Coeditor: associate editor: p. 2  |
| Artocreatarius, -a, -um: pertaining to meat-pie: p. 220                                    | *+Concentricus, -a, -um: concentric: p. 331                                   |
| *Asinari, -or: to act like an ass: p. 226  | *+Concordantia, -ae: concordance: p. 383                                      |
|  | *+Confessarius, -ii: confessor: p. 347  |

- +Consusurratio, -onis: *whispering*: p. 61  
 +Cordiger, -i: *Franciscan*: p. 66
- Deiectatio, -onis: *humility, abject condition*: p. 253  
 \*+Doctoratus, -us: *doctoral degree*: pp. 58-9
- Elaiophora, -ae: *the olive-bearing*: p. 316  
 \*+Elucidatio, -onis: *explanation*: pp. 253-5  
 Emplatorius = M. Platorius: p. 34  
 \*+Excudere, -o: *to print*: p. 277, 297
- Farcimivora, -ae: *person devouring sauses*: p. 216  
 +Fastidiosulus, -a, -um: *a bit squeamish*: p. 97  
 Figurae, -arum: *a junior form*: p. 324  
 \*+Florenus, -i: *florin*: p. 343  
 \*+Funiger(us), -i: *Franciscan*: p. 64
- \*+Hospitale, -is: *hospital (alios sensus memorat ThLL)*: p. 320  
 \*Humanisticus, -a, -um: *humanistic*: pp. 1-2  
 Hyoscamum, -i = hyoscyamum: p. 154
- \*+Imprimere, -o: *to print*: pp. 282, 330  
 Indipeta, -ae: *who wants to be a missionary in India or America*: pp. 339, 345  
 Insulensis, -is = insulanus (*nomen adiectivum apud Forcell. invenitur*): p. 335  
 \*+Interlocutor, -oris: *collocutor*: p. 172  
 Internationalis, -is, -e: *international*: p. 1  
 Irenodia, -ae: *song of peace*: p. 316  
 \*+Iubilaeum, -i: *jubilee*: (cfr. iubeleus) p. 297  
 Ixeutica, -ôn = ἰξευτικά: pp. 149-156
- +Lamentatorius, -a, -um = lamentosus: pp. 35, 68  
 \*Latinista, -ae: *Latinist, student of Latin*: p. 380  
 Latramentum, -i = latratus: p. 4  
 Lexicographia, -ae: *lexicography*: p. 367  
 Lipsiomnema, -atis: *commemoration of (Justus) Lipsius*: pp. 286-7  
 \*+Liliatus, -a, -um: *adorned with lilies*: p. 290
- \*Loiolita vel Loiolites, -ae: *Jesuit*: p. 296  
 Meletema, -atis = μελέτημα: p. 294  
 \*Mensus, -us = mensura (*vocem casu ablativo exhibet Forcell.; deest in ThLL*): p. 122  
 \*Mission(n)arius, -ii: *missionary*: p. 367
- Neolatinista, -ae: *Neo-Latin scholar*: p. 317  
 Neolatinus, -a, -um: *Neo-Latin*: pp. 1-2  
 \*+Nuntiatorius, -a, -um: *informative*: p. 64
- Pacificum mare: *the Pacific*: p. 348  
 Pamphilus, -a, -um: *relative to Pope Innocent X*: p. 337  
 \*Paral(l)axis, -is: *parallax (memoratur in ThLL sensu largiore)*: p. 335  
 \*Parallelum, -i: *parallel*: p. 315  
 Parcensis, -is, -e: *of Park abbey*: p. 1  
 \*+Plebanus, -i: *parish priest*: p. 290  
 Politico-theologicus, -a, -um: *politico-theological*: p. 357  
 \*+Praeceptiuncula, -ae: *small precept*: p. 59
- +Recudere, -o: *reprint*: p. 277
- +Sciscitatorius, -a, -um: *inquiring*: p. 21  
 \*Seminarista, -ae: *seminarian*: p. 384  
 \*+Seneschalcus, -i: *seneschal*: p. 20
- Thaumasius, -a, -um = θαυμάσιος: p. 310  
 \*+Tormentarius, -a, -um: *concerning guns*: p. 270  
 Triambeis, -is: *a kind of laudatory poem*: p. 316  
 \*+Typographicus, -a, -um: *belonging to typography*: p. 120  
 \*+Typographus, -i: *printer*: pp. 104, 121, 277-80
- \*+Ultramarinus, -a, -um: *overseas*: p. 349
- Vinipota, -ae: *boozier* (cfr. \*vinipotus): p. 216  
 \*+Vitriolum, -i: *vitriol*: p. 336
- Wallonia, -ae: *Walloon provinces in Belgium*: p. 324

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